

AL-MAS'ŪDĪ
MILLENARY COMMEMORATION VOLUME



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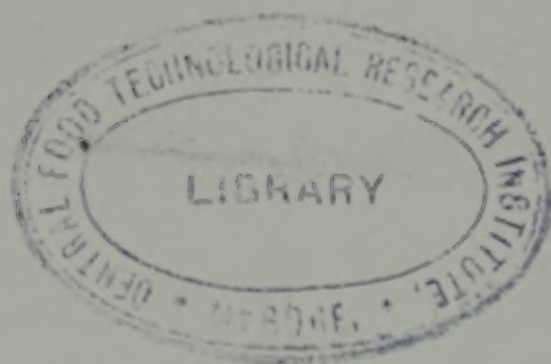
AL-MAS'ŪDĪ MILLENARY COMMEMORATION VOLUME



AL-MAS'ŪDĪ MILLENARY COMMEMORATION VOLUME

Edited by
S. MAQBUL AHMAD
and
A. RAHMAN

With a Foreword by
PROFESSOR HUMAYUN KABIR



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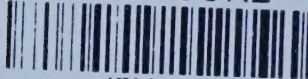
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FOREWORD

I have read with interest the *Commemoration Volume* that has been prepared by the Institute of Islamic Studies, Aligarh University and the Indian Society for the History of Science on the occasion of the Millenary Celebrations of Abu'l-Hasan 'Alī b. al-Husain al-Mas'ūdī. I congratulate the Society as well as the Aligarh University for their initiative in organising the celebrations and inviting a number of distinguished scholars from different parts of the world.

It was appropriate that scholars in so many disciplines from so many countries should join in doing honour to the memory of al-Mas'ūdī. He is a historian par excellence, but he is also one of the outstanding geographers, physicists, zoologists, astronomers, and theologians of his age. If all his work had been preserved, he may well have taken his place along with Aristotle and Ibn Khaldūn as among the encyclopaedic minds of the world.

My acquaintance with al-Mas'ūdī is restricted only to a few scattered translations of some of his writings. Even this brief acquaintance impresses one with his catholicity and devotion to truth. He was a product of that intellectual efflorescence which has been described as the renaissance of Islam. He sought to overcome local and contemporary prejudices and investigated facts for himself in order to find out the truth. In discussing the Carmathians who were regarded by the orthodox as heretics, he did not abuse and condemn them, but undertook a first hand enquiry among the Carmathians themselves in order to ascertain what they actually believed. Similarly, unlike many of his contemporaries who looked upon Europeans as barbarians beyond the pale of civilisation, he attempted to understand them on the basis of the geography and the ethnography of Western Europe. He described things as he saw them without either suppression or distortion and may be regarded as an exponent of the scientific spirit in an age which was still largely dominated by theology.

Al-Mas'ūdī was in a sense fortunate both in the period and the place of his birth. Rising in an area where Asia, Europe and Africa meet, Islamic civilisation was heir to the rich contribution of Egypt, Greece and Rome in the West. In the East, it drew upon the resources of Persia, India and China. In the first phase of the Islamic renaissance, Arabs went to the farthest corners of the world in search of knowledge

and accepted whatever they found without regard to its source of origin. By the time Mas'ūdī was born, these different elements had been fused to form the many-splendoured mansion that was Islamic civilisation at its best.

Intellectual curiosity, integrity and catholicity were the qualities which led to the great achievements of Islamic, or indeed any civilisation. Decay of these qualities inevitably brings about moral and intellectual degeneration of a community and leads to economic stagnation, political degradation and spiritual impoverishment. Al-Mas'ūdī was one of the finest exemplars of the qualities which make for progressive and creative society and the millenary celebrations will render a real service, if they help to revive them among Muslims in India and elsewhere who have suffered from their decay in the last four or five centuries.

New Delhi,
March 25, 1959.

HUMAYUN KABIR

PREFACE

The present volume is the outcome of the Celebrations held in Aligarh Muslim University in January, 1958, to commemorate the thousandth anniversary of the passing away of the great Arab historian and savant Abu'l-Hasan 'Alī b. al-Husayn al-Mas'ūdī, who died in Fustāt (old Cairo) in A.D. 956. Most of the articles that were read during the Celebrations, together with some others that were specially contributed afterwards by the various scholars, have been included in the volume. The second part contains messages received on the occasion, addresses and statements read during the inaugural session, a short report of the proceedings and a list of the delegates who participated.

The idea of celebrating the millenary of al-Mas'ūdī was initiated by Professor Sa'īd Naficy during his sojourn in Aligarh as a visiting Professor at the Institute of Islamic Studies. It was enthusiastically welcomed by the members of the Institute, and received further impetus from the support accorded by the Indian Society for the History of Science. As Indians we felt it was our duty to pay homage to the memory of a great scholar and traveller like al-Mas'ūdī, who was one of the pioneers in promoting cordial relations between the Arabs and Indians of medieval times. Al-Mas'ūdī came to India in A.D. 915, and spent nearly two years touring many parts of the country in the west and the north. He recorded his observations and experiences with great honesty and care. One finds throughout these writings an undercurrent of sympathy and admiration for the Indian people and everything that was Indian. No doubt the author was already acquainted with the land and its people through Arabic writings and was to a certain extent conscious of the contributions of the Indians to sciences and arts with which the Arab world was already familiar through translations from the Sanskrit and other sources. However, to the Arab mind India was still a 'land of wonders' around which were woven marvellous tales and incredible fables. Al-Mas'ūdī's inquisitive mind could not be satisfied merely with the theoretical information contained in the writings of his predecessors, whose knowledge he generally regarded as outdated. He was a scholar who preferred contemporary first-hand sources and personal experience and experimentation. These probably were the considerations that motivated his voyage to India.

He came here not as a diplomat, nor as a merchant, but as a scholar who desired to observe things for himself and collect data first-hand. In this he was successful, and his accounts are both trustworthy and interesting. The main contribution of al-Mas'ūdī lies in the fact that he presented India to the Arab world in a manner in which few Arab

historians, scientists or travellers have done in the past, for his accounts are impartial and relatively free from subjectivity or inhibitions of any kind.

Great as may be his claim to the special gratitude and respect of Indian scholars for his writings on India, al-Mas'ūdī's contribution to knowledge is by no means limited to this aspect. On ancient Greece, the Byzantine empire, ancient Iran, Central Asia, Egypt, Sudan, China and many other regions and peoples, he is one of the most valuable of medieval sources. For this reason we were happy to invite scholars of other lands to participate in our Celebrations. The contributions made by these scholars in the various fields of their interest help to reveal clearly how universal is the debt of modern scholarship to al-Mas'ūdī. The willing collaboration of scholars from many parts of the world added greatly to the value of the proceedings, and has made possible the publication of the present volume containing valuable information about the different aspects of al-Mas'ūdī's contribution to knowledge. We hope that it will inspire further researches in the subject, and will lead to detailed and intensive studies of the author.

We are very grateful to all those who helped us in the organisation of the Al-Mas'ūdī Millenary Celebrations, in particular members of the Preparatory Committee without whose devotion, co-operation and invaluable help the Celebrations would not have been a success.

We wish to thank in particular Professor Humayun Kabir, Minister for Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs, Government of India; Professor M. S. Thacker, Secretary, Ministry of Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs and Director-General, Council of Scientific and Industrial Research; Shri A. K. Ghosh, I.C.S., Joint Secretary, Ministry of Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs; Col. B. H. Zaidi, Vice-Chancellor, Aligarh Muslim University; and Professor Abdul Aleem, Director, Institute of Islamic Studies, Aligarh Muslim University, without whose interest and help the publication of the present Volume on al-Mas'ūdī would not have been possible.

We are deeply thankful to the Government of India for their assistance and co-operation in making the Celebrations a success, in particular to the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting for filming the proceedings of the Celebrations. To Aligarh Muslim University we express our deep sense of gratitude for financing the entire cost of the Celebrations and to the Ministry of Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs for their generous grant for the publication of the present volume.

S. MAQBUL AHMAD
A. RAHMAN

PART I
ARTICLES

A PROJECT FOR A NEW EDITION OF AL-MAS'ŪDĪ'S *MURŪJ
AL-DHĀḤAB* BASED ON THAT OF BARBIER DE MEYNARD
AND PAVET DE COURTEILLE

BY

CH. PELLAT

The French orientalist H. Derenbourg was first chosen by the Asiatic Society of Paris for setting out an edition of the *Murūj al-Dhahab* and undertook his task in 1852, but after having copied a part of the work and having examined several MSS he was forced to give up his undertaking. C. Barbier de Meynard and Pavet de Courteille then succeeded him, and it was only in 1861 that the first volume of the text and translation appeared; the following volumes were published down to 1877, and a second print was out shortly before the First World War.

Their edition is mainly based on three Paris MSS and a fourth one belonging to the Asiatic Society, but two Leiden MSS were also used. According to the practice in vogue in the last century, only the important variants are pointed out, and annotation is considerably reduced; the index is hardly usable because of defects in transcription.

In spite of numerous imperfections, we should be unfair if we were too severe towards their work. The translation, which does not closely follow the text, is highly elegant and in general correct, even more correct than the text, and we can pick out only a small number of serious mistakes.

The Arabic text is less carefully set up; numerous grammatical faults and misspellings, with none of which we can charge Mas'ūdī, lessen its value; in addition, the editors have accepted many wrong readings, on the details of which I do not want to dwell; but it is chiefly the readings of names that is incorrect, although the two scholars may be excused, for they were not always furnished with enough materials to find the right reading of exotic names considerably distorted in the MSS.

Therefore that edition, which is still very useful, would deserve to be amended, but as it is now out of print, I felt it would be better to use it for setting up an up-to-date edition.

This is how I intend to proceed: I plan first to revise the Arabic text with the help of several new MSS found in various libraries and studies devoted to Mas'ūdī by Western and Eastern scholars. The Arabic text will be published separately, divided into paragraphs and followed by a mere index of names.

The translation will also be published separately, and I intend to take Barbier de Meynard's as a basis of work, correcting it when it is wrong and keeping it when it is correct, and using a scientific transcription for the names of persons, places, etc. The French text will be followed by a detailed index comprising not only names, but also interesting Arabic words, and chiefly the principal things spoken of in the *Murūj*, with comments and bibliographical references; I should like in short to make of Mas'ūdī's work a little encyclopaedia; this text, in fact, is nothing but a résumé, and Mas'ūdī often refers, for a great deal of questions, to his other works *Akḥbār al-Zamān* and *al-Kitāb al-Awsaṭ*, the loss of which makes it necessary to fill up the omissions in the *Murūj* and to point out, at least briefly, the books where the information and notices concerned are to be found.

I have just begun my work, but hope that the scholars, who attend this meeting held for celebrating Mas'ūdī's Millenary, will not be unfavourable towards my project and will agree to help me in order to realise a great but interesting undertaking.

NOTE ON THE LEIDEN MSS OF THE *MURŪJ AL-DHAHAB*

BY

P. VOORHOEVE

For their edition of Mas'ūdī's *Murūj al-Dhahab* Barbier de Meynard and Pavet de Courteille used four manuscripts from Paris collections and notes made by J. Derenbourg from two Leiden manuscripts. In the introduction to the first volume, p. XI et sq., they state that these MSS were no. 537, which contained the first 32 chapters only, and no. 282, which was less good but still useful. They announce that they will cite no. 537 as *L* and no. 282 as *L*².

A detailed scrutiny of their notes, however, reveals the following facts:

The variant readings marked *L* are, with few exceptions, from Cod. Or. 282. This MS was copied, as the scribe himself admits, from a very faulty original, as late as 963 A.H.

The variant readings marked *L*² are from Cod. Or. 537. It is true that the first volume of this MS (Or. 537a) contains only chapters 1-32, but variant readings from *L*² are also given in the notes to chapters 78-95. These are from Cod. Or. 537b which, according to its title-page, is the fourth volume.

Derenbourg's collation of these two volumes was rather inaccurate, and for a new critical edition of the text they should be collated entirely anew.

The first volume was copied by Muhammad b. Qāsim b. Muhammad al-Nuwayrī, the author of a lengthy work on the sack of Alexandria in 1365, which he finished in 776/1375. This volume was meant by Sprenger when he remarked: "It is very ancient, made by a man of great learning, and therefore very correct."

The fourth volume (Or. 537b), notwithstanding the similarity of the handwriting, does not originally belong to the same copy as 537a. This is proved by a number of differences between the two volumes:

a. Or. 537a has 23 lines of 12 cm to a page; Or. 537b has 17 lines of 11 cm.

b. The text of 537b corresponds to vol. II pp. 2-118 in the Būlāq edition (1283 A.H.). As vol. I of the edition has 340 pages, this agrees well with the length of our 4th volume; 3 MS volumes of the same length would just cover the text of the first printed volume. Our first volume (537a) is much longer; its text corresponds to vol. I pp. 2-181 of the edition, and there would be no room for *two* volumes between the end of this vol. I and the beginning of our vol. IV.

c. The lay-out is different: the scribe of 537b used red ink for chapter-headings and marked lines of verse by red dots; in 537a the chapter-headings are written with the same brownish ink as the text and no red ink has been used after p. 22.

d. The paper of the two volumes is different.

There seems to be no reason to assume that the two volumes had ever been together before they came into the possession of Levinus Warner, who left them by will to the Leiden library. The similarity of their handwriting may be an indication that 537b, as well as 537a, was copied in the 8/14th century.

It is a pity that both volumes were damaged by water when they were sent back from India by Sprenger in 1846. The lower part of the pages of vol. I (537a) is damaged to such an extent that many lines of writing have become illegible. In vol. IV (537b) the damage is restricted to the upper margins and in some pages to the first line of text. In vol. I there is a lacuna between pp. 117 and 118; most of chapter 14 and the beginning of chapter 15 are missing.

Derenbourg's collation did not include the third Leiden copy, Cod. Or. 127. This is a good, old *Maghribī* copy (not dated) of the second volume, comprising chapters 44-92 (but the first part of ch. 44 is now lost). This copy should certainly be used in preparing a new edition.

The fourth copy in the Leiden library is a fragment (chapters 26-35) and it is neither ancient nor very accurate. It belongs to the loan-collection of the Royal Academy (Acad. 177).

كَمَّارٌ مِمَّا قَامُوا بَعْدَ قَوْلِ آلِ الْكَافِرِينَ إِنَّهُ سَمِعَ عَنِ اللَّهِ فَلَمَّا حَقَّ كَيْدُهُ مِنْهُمَا قَالَ لِلْأَسَدِ مُضَىٰ أَمْرُهُ فَأَتَىٰ آلَهُ فَخَبَّاهُمْ وَخَفَّاهُمْ فَأَخْرَجَهُمُ الْكَافِرِينَ

[illegible]

ذكر حوامع معًا كان نرا ميل
العراق والسام يصيد

[illegible]

وَتَكَرَّرَ الْأَسَانِيدُ وَاللَّهُ وَلِيُّ الْمُتَّقِينَ
 ذَكَرُ جَوَامِعَ مِمَّا كَانَ
 بَيْنَ أَهْلِ الْعِرَاقِ
 وَالشَّامِ بِصَفَيْنِ
 قَالَ الْمُسْعُودِيُّ قَدْ ذَكَرْنَا جَمَلًا وَجَوَامِعَ مِنْ
 أَخْبَارِ عَلِيِّ بْنِ أَبِي طَالِبٍ وَمَا كَانَ يَوْمَ الْحَمَلِ فَلَمْ يَذْكُرْ
 إِلَّا جَوَامِعَ مِنْ مَسِيرِهِ إِلَى صَفَيْنَ وَمَا كَانَ فِيهَا
 مِنَ الْخُرُوبِ يَوْمَ نَعَفَتْ ذَلِكَ بَشَرَانِ الْحَكِيمَةِ وَالْحَكِيمِينَ
 وَالنَّهْرَ وَإِنْ وَمَقْتَلُهُ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ كَانَ مَسِيرُهُ
 عَلَى فِرَاقِ الْكُوفَةِ إِلَى صَفَيْنَ لِمَنْ خَلَا مِنْ شَوَّالٍ
 سِتَّةَ سِتٍّ وَثَلَاثِينَ فَاسْتَخْلَفَ عَلَى الْكُوفَةِ أَبَا
 مَسْعُودٍ عُمَيْقَةَ بْنِ عَمْرِو بْنِ الْأَنْصَارِيِّ فَأَجْتَارَ فِي
 مَسِيرِهِ بِالْمَدَائِنِ ثُمَّ اتَى الْأَنْبَارَ وَسَارَ حَتَّى نَزَلَ الرِّقَّةَ فَقَعِدَ
 لَهُ هُنَاكَ جِسْرٌ قَعْبِلَ إِلَى جَانِبِ الشَّامِ وَقَدْ تَنَزَّعَ فِي
 مَقْدَارِ مَنْ كَانَ مَعَهُ مِنَ الْحَيْشِ فَمُكْثِرٌ وَمَقَلٌّ وَالْمَقُولُ
 عَلَيْهِ مِنَ الْجَمِيعِ تَسْعُونَ أَلْفًا قَالَ رَجُلٌ مِنْ أَهْلِ كِتَابٍ مَا
 سَمِعْتُ قَوْمًا بِالْشَّامِ مِنْ أَهْلِ كِتَابٍ كَثَبَتْ بِهَا إِلَى مَعُونَةِ حَيْثُ

واقفوا خلافة المقتدر فجلس صاحب المذهب دخل جماعة
 منهم على خدوهم الى المنار فقاموا فيها وفيها طرق تولد
 منها ويهوي الى الشيطان الرجاس وحبه مخاريق لا البحر فهو
 بدواهم وافترق منهم عدد كثير وعلم بهم بعد ذلك وقيل ان
 هموا هم كان في كرسى لها قد انما هاه وفيها مشعل في
 هذا الوقت رابط فيه في الضمير منقطة عذ المبرور وغيرهم
 ولبلاذ مصر والاسكندرية والمغرب وبلاد الاندلس وما
 الشرف والعرب واليمن والعرب اخبار كثيرة في عجايب
 البلدان والابنية والابار وجعل من الباع وما انوار ساكنها
 اغرضنا عن ذكرها اذ كنا قد استنا على الاخبار عنها
 فيما سلف من غنيما من عجايب العالم من حيوانه ونبته
 بحرف فاعلم ذلك عن اتحاد ذكره وفيه من غنيما سلفه
 من الكتاب المذكور في النيران والهماء كل المعطلة
 والنبوت المستوفى وعلم ذلك ما الحق بمعناها كل ذكرها
 في التوسيع المشفق لهما وهذا الكتاب زين الله تعالى

لم اخبر الامم من كتاب

مروج الذهب ومعاد الخمر

للمسعودي رحمه الله

تلاوه الخزانة التي اولى ذكر السودان وانسابهم واخلاف

اخبارهم في احوالهم ونبأهم وديارهم واخبار ملوكهم

نسخه العبد الفقير الى الله تعالى

مهر قاسم بن محمد النويري غفر الله

له ولوالديه ولذريته وكل من

له من

MAS'ŪDĪ ON THE KINGS OF THE FRANKS

BY

BERNARD LEWIS

The thirty-fifth chapter of the *Murūj al-Dhahab*, dealing with the Franks and Galicians, includes a short list of the Frankish kings, drawn, Mas'ūdī tells us, from a book which he came across in Egypt.¹ The passage, which in the editions is obviously corrupt, is nevertheless clearly based on an authentic list of names, deriving from a European source. This source is named by Mas'ūdī, and has been identified as Godmar, bishop of Gerona, in Catalonia, from 943 to 951 or 952 A.D.²

As early as the 18th century, the French orientalist Joseph de Guignes drew attention to this passage,³ and in 1828 d'Ohsson published a translation of it into French.⁴ Alexander Seippel, in his collection of Arabic sources on Viking affairs⁵, published a critical edition of part of the text based on the Paris and Būlāq editions and on four manuscripts, one in Munich (no. 374) and three in the British Museum (Add. 23, 266, Add. 23, 269, Or. 1521). The four are referred to respectively as M, La, Lb, Lc.

The following is a translation of the passage in question, based on the printed editions.

In Fustāt, in Egypt, in the year 336 (= 947), I came across a book

1 Paris edition, III, pp. 69-72 (P); Būlāq edition I, 197-8 (B); Cairo edition (A.H. 1346) I, 256.

2 For the life of Godmar, or Gotmaro, see *España Sagrada*, vol. XLIII, tratado LXXXI, *De la santa iglesia de Gerona*, by Antolin Merino and Jose de la Canal, Madrid 1819, pp. 126-129.

3 De Guignes' memoir on the *Murūj*, first published in the proceedings of the French Académie des Inscriptions, was translated into German in 1790.

4 M. C. d'Ohsson, *Des Peuples du Caucase*, Paris 1828, pp. 123-5. D'Ohsson bases his translation on 3 Paris and 3 Leiden manuscripts but does not cite variants.

5 A. Seippel, *Recum Normannicorum Fontes Arabici*, Oslo 1928, p. 2. A Norwegian translation of Seippel's text will be found in Harris Birkeland, *Nordens Historie i Middelalderen Efter Arabiske Kilder*, Oslo 1954, pp. 38-9. A shortened French translation of Seippel's text was published by Arne Melvinger in his *Les premières incursions des Vikings en Occident d'après les sources arabes*, Uppsala 1955, pp. 49-50.

composed by Godmar,¹ bishop in the city of Gerona,² one of the cities of the Franks, in the year 328, for al-Hakam ibn 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn Muḥammad,³ heir apparent of his father 'Abd al-Rahmān, sovereign of al-Andalus at this time, addressed, by virtue of his wisdom, as 'Commander of the Faithful'.⁴ According to this book the first of the kings of the Franks was Kludieh.⁵ He was a heathen,⁶ and his wife, whose name was Ghartala,⁷ converted him to Christianity. After him came his son Ludrik,⁸ then *his* son Dakoshirt,⁹ then his son Ludrik,¹⁰ then his brother Kartan,¹¹ then his son Karla,¹² then his son Tebin¹³ and his

- 1 P غرماز , with variant readings عزمار and عومار ; B عرمار ; Lb غيرماز . D'Ohsson read Goumar. The identification of this bishop as Godmar (* غدمار) of Gerona was made by J. T. Reinaud, *Invasions des Sarrazins en France*, Paris 1836, p. XV-XVI (English translation by H. K. Sherwani, in *Islamic Culture*, iv, 1930, pp. 102-3).
- 2 P جريده , with variant readings جریده and دومره ; B زهرة ; Lb جديدة . The Latin name of Gerona was Gerunda.
- 3 Al-Hakam II, who reigned as Caliph in Cordova from 961 to 976.
- 4 'Abd al-Rahmān III, reg. 912-61. He adopted the title of Caliph in 929.
- 5 P and Lc قلودويه ; B قلوذويه ; Lb فلوذنه . Seippel amends to قلودويه =Chlodovech or Clovis, the first king of the Franks.
- 6 *Majūsi*, strictly, a Magian. In the Muslim west this term was commonly applied to the heathen Norsemen. See Melvinger, *op. cit.* p. 70 ff.
- 7 All the MSS and editions have غرطلة . Seippel amends the final ة to د and reads Grutild, i.e. Clotilde or Clotilda. The story of the conversion of Clovis by his Burgundian Christian wife Clotilda is well-known.
- 8 P. لدريق , in the translation Loderik; Seippel amends to تدريق , i.e. Theodoric or Theuderich. D'Ohsson reads Loudvic.
- 9 P. دمريت . D'Ohsson دقشرت ; B. and Lc دقشرت ; Lb دوفسرت . Seippel agrees with D'Ohsson and the French editors in identifying this as Dagobert. There were three kings of this name in the Merovingian line—Dagobert I of Austrasia (623-628) and of Neustria (630-638); Dagobert II of Austrasia (674-678); and Dagobert III of Austrasia and Neustria (711-715). The first of these is by far the most important, and therefore the most likely to have achieved mention in Mas'ūdī's list.
- 10 P قرطمان ; B قرطمان . The French editors read Kartan, D'Ohsson and Seippel read Qarlamān. Where P has اخوه —'his brother', the other versions read بن دقشرت the son of ? Dagobert.
- 11 P. قارله ; B نازله . D'Ohsson, followed by Seippel, identifies him as Charles Martel, the 'mayor' of Austrasia and Neustria (714-741) and the victor of the Battle of Tours and Poitiers, known in Arabic as Balāt al-Shuhadā'.
- 12 P لبين ; B تنين ; Lb لبين . D'Ohsson, the French editors, and Seippel identify this name as Pepin.
- 13 P قارله ; B نازله . D'Ohsson and the French editors identify him as

son Karla.¹ He ruled for twenty-six years, and he was in the time of al-Ḥakam, the sovereign of al-Andalus. Then his sons fought after him, and dissension arose among them to such a point that the Franks were destroying themselves because of them. Then Ludrik,² the son of Karla, became their sovereign, and ruled for 28 years and six months. It was he who advanced on Tortosa and laid siege to it.³ After him came Karla, the son of Ludrik,⁴ and it is he who sent gifts to Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥakam, who was addressed as "Al-Imām."⁵ He ruled for 39 years and six months, and after him his son Ludrik ruled for six years.⁶ Then the Frankish Count Nūsa⁷ rose up against him and seized the kingdom of the Franks, and ruled there for eight years. It was he who bought off the Normans from his country for seven years, at a cost of 700 ratls of gold and 600 ratls of silver, to be paid to them by the king of the Franks.⁸ After him Karla.

Charlemagne (768-814). He was the contemporary of Al-Ḥakam I of Andalusia (reg. 796-822). His reign, however, was considerably longer than 26 years.

1 Editions and MSS الدرج. D'Oshson identifies him as Louis (Ludwig) the Pious, who was emperor from 814-840. He was also known as Louis the Debonnaire.

2 This presumably refers to the two Frankish attacks on Tortosa, the unsuccessful siege in 809, and the brief occupation two years later. Though these expeditions took place during the reign of Charlemagne, both were led by Louis, the future Emperor.

3 D'Oshson and the French editors identify him with Charles the Bald, king of Neustria 843-877 and Emperor 875-877.

4 Muḥammad I, 852-866. His dealings with Charles the Bald are mentioned in Arabic sources. See E. Lévi-Provencal *Histoire de l'Espagne musulmane*, chapter iv.

5 D'Oshson suggests Louis II of France, reg. 877-879. The 'six years' of the list may also include the reign of his son Louis III, 879-882.

6 P and MSS الفرج; B الفرج. D'Oshson's MSS read الفرج and الفرج. The French editors render the title *Qā'id al-Ifrānḡ* as *Comes Francorum*, and identify Nūsa as Eudes, (or Odo), the Duke of France and Count of Paris who occupied the French throne from 888 to 898. Odo did indeed negotiate with the Norsemen, but there is no record of his having bought a truce on the terms indicated. D'Oshson, followed by Seippel, identifies the Qā'id as Boso (* الفرج), the king of Provence, (d. 887). As Melvinger points out (p. 48 n. 3), the suggestion is unlikely, as Boso was never king of France.

7 Seippel's text ends here.

8 The remaining three monarchs are identified by D'Oshson and the French editors as Charles the Fat (884-887), Charles the Simple (893-923), and Louis IV (936-954). The last named had in fact been reigning for about 10 years at the date of Mas'ūdī's document.

the son of Takwira ruled for four years ; then another Karla, who stayed for 31 years and three months ; then Ludrik the son of Karla ;¹ and he is king of the Franks at this time, that is, in the year 336. He has ruled them now for ten years, according to the information that has reached us.

Of the sixteen names in Mas'ūdī's list, the last ten—from Charles Martel to Louis IV—can be identified with fair certainty. Of the first six names, Clovis, his wife Clotilde, and his great-great-grandson Dagobert present no difficulty ; the remainder are impossible to identify among the mass of Merovingian and Carolingian monarchs.

The interest of the passage, however, does not lie in the actual list of names, teeming as it does with corruptions, errors, and omissions. Its importance lies rather in its mere existence. Classical Muslim historiography is of enormous bulk—greater probably than that of all the states of medieval Europe put together. It is all the more remarkable that, despite the long confrontation of Islam and Christendom in Spain, Sicily, Syria, and the Mediterranean, there should have been such a complete lack of interest or curiosity, among Muslim scholars, in what went on beyond the Muslim frontiers in Europe.² From the first millennium of Islam, only three works appear to have survived, that offer to the Muslim reader some account of the history of Western Europe. The third was a Turkish translation of a French history of France, completed in 980/1572-37 years after the first capitulations granted to France by the Ottoman Empire.³ The second was a brief chronicle of the Holy Roman Emperors and Popes, incorporated, from a Latin source, by Rashīd al-Dīn in the Universal History which he presented to the Mongol Il-Khān. The first was Mas'ūdī's list of Frankish kings.

1 See further my 'The Muslim Discovery of Europe', *BSOAS*, 1957, XX, pp. 409-416.

2 See 'The Use by Muslim Historians of non-Muslim Sources', in B. Lewis and P. M. Holt, (editors), *Historiography of the Middle East*, (in preparation).

3 See K. Jahn, 'Les legendes de l'Occident chez Rashīd al-Dīn', *Mélanges Fuad Köprülü*, Istanbul, 1953, 255-7; id. *Histoire universelle de Rashid al-Din* . . I. *Histoire des France*, Leiden, 1951. Rashīd al-Dīn's Frankish history reappears in some subsequent Persian universal histories.

AL-MAS'ŪDĪ ON THE SLAVS

BY

TADEUSZ LEWICKI

There are many medieval Arab writers in whose works we find ample information on the Slavonic peoples, their settlements, customs, and systems of government, and also on their trade with Islamic countries. Abu'l-Hasan 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn al-Mas'ūdī, whose memory we are celebrating to-day, is one of the most eminent among these writers. The result of his scientific research are the two preserved works: *Kitāb Murūj al-Dhahab* and *Kitāb al-Tanbīh wa'l-Ishrāf*; his other works, which included two very important ones, *Kitāb Akhbār al-Zamān* and *Kitāb al-Ausat* have been lost. This great historian and geographer did not confine his study to repeating in his works what had already been said about the Slavs by the previous writers, as often was the case with the medieval Arab writers, but gave entirely original and for the most part authentic information. His information was probably gathered from the travellers and traders who knew the Slavonic countries and whom al-Mas'ūdī met in Baghdād, in the harbours of the Caspian Sea, or in other centres of Arab trade; he seems to have also gathered information from the Slavonic slaves who were very numerous in Islamic countries.

The most extensive and valuable information by al-Mas'ūdī on the Slavs is to be found in Chapter 34 of his work *Murūj al-Dhahab* under the title: "Description of the Slavs, their settlements, the history of their kings, and their division into tribes." This chapter was published critically as a separate work by M. Charmoy in *Mémoires de l'Académie Impériale de St. Petersbourg*, VIe série, t. II, 1834 and by J. Marquart in his *Osteuropäische und ostasiatische Streifzüge*, Leipzig 1903. An analysis of this chapter shows that the tribes described belong to the West Slavonic peoples, who are distinguished from the East Slavonic peoples by al-Mas'ūdī. From among the South Slavs al-Mas'ūdī knew only the Bulgarians on whom he conveys some information in other parts of his works.

Taking into consideration the contents and the origin of the information, Chapter 34 may be divided as follows:

§1. General remarks on the social relations, religion and history of the West Slavs.¹

1 Cf. *Murūj*, ed. Barbier de Meynard and Pavet de Courteille, v, III, p. 61, l. 6; 62, l. 5.

§2. The Slavs living westwards of the Odra River, the so called WALITAB or WELETABE (Veletians or Liutici). Their former prince called MĀĠIK (MAŽĀKZ) had presumably been the ruler of all the Slavs in the earlier days. Together with them are mentioned the people NĀMGĪN or NĒMGĪN whom we recognize as the Germans.¹

§3a. The Slavonic tribes living in the middle and upper reaches of the Łaba River, in the upper reaches of the Vistula River, and in the basin of the middle Danube [among others S(A)RBĪN—the Serbs of Lusatia or Lusitians, M(O)RĀWA—Moravians, H(O)RVĀTĪN—White Croats]. Among these peoples al-Mas'ūdī also mentions the tribe ŠĀŠĪN *i.e.* the Non-German Saxons.²

§3b. It seems to be a duplicate of §3a, as it gives a political picture of the greater part of the areas, the ethnical relations of which were presented in the preceding paragraph, but it comes from a different source. It deals with the state AL-IFRAĠ (Prague, *i.e.* Bohemia), the state AT-TURK (Hungary), etc.³

§4. In this paragraph al-Mas'ūdī returns to the subjects mentioned in §2 and partly in §1.⁴ As to the sources used by al-Mas'ūdī for writing Chapter 34 of the *Murūj*, it seems that paragraphs 1, 2, 3a and 4 were based on the oral relation of the Slavs. For instance the word NĀMGĪN or NĒMGĪN renders the Slavonic nominative singular NEMCĀN “a German,” and the word ŠĀŠĪN renders the Slavonic nominative singular “a Saxon”. A short note in the beginning of the first paragraph on the origin of the Slavs from the Biblical Jaffet is an exception which comes back distinctly to the Arabian literary tradition.

It seems that the information found in these paragraphs belongs to a period half-a-century earlier than the time of the writing of *Murūj*. Indeed, among the independent Slavonic countries ruled by their own rulers, enumerated in it, there appears the tribe M(O)RĀWA (Moravians) whose state fell to pieces as early as the year 906. Consequently this information, and probably also the other incorporated in these paragraphs, is earlier than that date. I believe that al-Mas'ūdī acquired this information in his youth from a man who had left West Slavonia in the early years of the 10th century at the latest and who was staying afterwards, very likely as a slave, in the countries of the Caliphate of Baghdād, where he met the author. As this man payed much attention to the West Slavonic tribe of Veletians and exaggerated the importance

1 Cf. *Ibid.* p. 62, l. 5; 63, l. 2.

2 Cf. *Ibid.* p. 63, l. 3; 64, l. 3.

3 Cf. *Ibid.* p. 64, l. 3-10.

4 Cf. *Ibid.* p. 64, l. 10; 65, l. 8.

of its historical role there is a justified suspicion that this tribe was his native one.

As to §3b, its analysis indicates that al-Mas'ūdī owed the information in it to somebody who knew the Arabic language (the names of the peoples and the countries mentioned in it are preceded by the Arabic definite article "al"; cf. e.g. al-Turk – the Hungarians), and was also acquainted with the Arabic and Persian geographical nomenclature of Central Europe. It is very probable that the person conveying this information was a Muslim traveller or a trader who had visited these regions.

In Chapter 66 of the *Murūj*, al-Mas'ūdī describes the heathen temples of the Slavs. There is a large amount of the most fantastic information presented along with more authentic descriptions, reminding one of what was told about the heathen temples of the North West Slavs by the German chroniclers Thietmar, Adam from Brema, Herbord, Helmold and Saxon Grammaticus (XIth–XIIth centuries).

Mention must be made of what al-Mas'ūdī says, among other information on the West Slavs, about the raids of the Turks (here the Hungarians) on the neighbouring Slavonic peoples (probably Moravians and Bohemians) and also what he says about the export of furs from North Slavonia. This last information is to be found in *Kitāb al-Tanbīh*.

From among the South Slavs al-Mas'ūdī knew, as I have already said, only the Bulgarians, calling them BURGAR and confusing them with the Volga Bulgarians and the Hungarians (called BASHKIRS by the Arabs). The Danube River mentioned in *Kitāb al-Tanbīh* is called D(U)NĀBĪ which indicates the South Slavonic form of this name [D(U)NĀBĪ, read DUNAVI, corresponds to the South Slavonic DUNAVĀ]. Besides, al-Mas'ūdī knew that the Moravians and the Germans lived along the reaches of this river too.

Al-Mas'ūdī writes relatively little about the East Slavs, who are clearly distinguished by him from the Russians. He had information among others, about the Slavonic settlement in Itil, the capital of Khazaria, and mentions the Slavs settled along the reaches of the river Don. In both cases sections of the East Slavonic tribe of the Severians may be indicated.

Al-Mas'ūdī pays much attention to the Russians, people of an unknown origin, who had lived for a long time among the East Slavs and had to a large degree come under Slav influence already during the period dealt with by this author. Al-Mas'ūdī seems to have known their settlement in Itil, their manners and customs and the routes of the Russian traders. He speaks also of a Russian raid into the provinces of the Caliphate situated on the south coast of the Caspian Sea.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF AL-MAS'ŪDĪ FOR THE WORKS OF RUSSIAN AND SOVIET GEOGRAPHERS

BY

E. M. MURZAEV

A thousand years ago in Egypt, in old Cairo, died a famous Arab traveller, geographer and historian, Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn al-Mas'ūdī. He was born in Baghdad towards the end of the 9th century A.D., but the exact year of his birth is unknown. Al-Mas'ūdī died in 956 or 957.

Al-Mas'ūdī travelled far and wide in the countries of Asia and Africa. He visited India and Ceylon, some Moslem states of the Middle and Near East and went up to Madagascar. Of great importance for us are his notes referring to the coasts of the Caspian Sea, Middle Asia and Eastern Europe. As an author al-Mas'ūdī is characterized by extremely diverse interests and an exceptional fecundity. However, only very few of his works have been preserved until our times.

The tenth century was classical in the history of Arab geographical science, which, as it is known now, was developing to a great extent independently, though not without Greco-Roman influence. The geographical conceptions of ancient geographers and philosophers were subjected to revision and often collapsed as a result of the development of science in the Near East and Middle Asia.

One of the scientists who collected a number of new facts was Mas'ūdī. He not only made use of his travels, but also studied the countries and nations which he did not know personally, such as Indonesia and China. Mas'ūdī has shown that there have been numerous errors in Ptolemaic data. For example he refers to the 'landlockedness' of the Indian ocean which, the scientist writes, "in some points has no end."

The impressive edifice of Arab geography erected by Mas'ūdī, Ya'qūbī, Ibn Khurradādhbih, Idrīsī, Iṣṭakhri, Yāqūt and many other brilliant scientists of the East, became known in Europe and Russia comparatively late, many centuries after its age of glory, but it immediately attracted the attention of European and Russian orientalists.

Advocates of Arab geography and its sources in Russia-USSR were such prominent orientalists as I. P. Minaev, V. V. Grigoriev, V. V. Bartold, and I. Yu. Krachkovsky, who make frequent references in their papers to the works of Arabian geographers and encyclopædists. From 1910 onwards in Leningrad, I. Yu. Krachkovsky gave a special course of lectures for many years on the geographical literature of the Arabs.

The geographical writings of Mas'ūdī are naturally of special interest to Soviet readers for their description of the regions he visited. These include the Caspian Sea, the Volga region and the Middle Asian Republics.

I. P. Minaev writes about Mas'ūdī as being an author who possessed detailed information on the history and geography of many countries:

"He spent the greater part of his life in travels: he has seen such countries as no other Arabian geographer ever described before. He visited Persia, India, Ceylon, Transoxiana, Armenia, the coasts of the Caspian Sea, Egypt, different parts of Africa, Spain, the Greek Empire, etc."¹

In the East of Middle Asia the Moslem world has a boundary, according to Mas'ūdī, bordering on the lands of the Vakhsh and Tibetans. He says that he knew many people in Middle Asia and Khurāsān who had repeatedly visited China, which proves that there were lively relations between the Sogd and China during the Middle Ages.² V. V. Grigoriev finds the short notes which Mas'ūdī gives on the population of Eastern Turkestan reasonable, though they were written down on hearsay, as he, apparently, did not visit Eastern Turkestan himself. About the Qarluqs Mas'ūdī says: "Of all the Turks they are the most stately, the tallest and the most handsome: they live in the entire region of Farghāna, Shāsh and the neighbouring places: previously they had the upper hand over all the other Turkish nationalities, having as their chief a Khāqān over Khāqāns..." The capital of the Uighurs in Eastern Turkestan was Kushan, apparently present-day Kucha in Southern Sinkiang. The etymology of this word, it seems, is associated with the Iranian word "kūcha"—street.

In a book *Diverting the waters of the river Amu-Darya along its*

1 1879, p. 67.

2 V. V. Grigoriev, 1873, p. 198.

old bed into the Caspian Sea, which came out in 1893, A. I. Glukhovsky refers to descriptions of Arab geographers, including Mas'ūdī, Idrīsī and Yāqūt, when analysing the question of the shifting of the bed of the Amu-Darya, which is known in Arab geography under the name of Jayhūn. At that time Jayhūn, as well as the Shash (Syr-Darya), emptied into the Khorezmian Sea, (or the Aral Sea), and into the Sarykamysh Lake, which Mas'ūdī describes as the Georgian Lake. The flow of the Amu-Darya into the Caspian, known to the Arabs as the "Khazar Sea," is mentioned by Mas'ūdī.

Mas'ūdī's data have been widely used by V. V. Bartold in his classical papers, "*Information about the Aral Sea and the lower reaches of the Amu-Darya*" (1902) and "*On the history of irrigation in Turkestan*" (1914). The first of these papers contains Mas'ūdī's information on the Georgian Lake: "This lake is one of the largest in the inhabited part of the world; its expanses are about 40 days travel and it is just as much in width; big rivers arise from this lake, emptying themselves into the Khazar Sea. Into this lake also flows the Shāsh river." V. V. Bartold draws the conclusion, that from Mas'ūdī's testimony one could imagine the possibility of the existence of a big Aralo-Sarykamysh lake, which through the Uzboi was connected with the Caspian Sea, which contradicts the data of other Arab writers of the X-XI centuries, including Maqdisī, who is the first to mention the dry bed of the Uzboi.

We will quote, however, an excerpt from the writings of Mas'ūdī, which clearly shows a bifurcation of the Amu-Darya and its feeding the two lakes—Aral and Sarykamysh: "The river Balkh, called Jayhūn, has several sources; it flows through Tirmidh and Isfarain and other parts of Khurāsān and comes to Khuwārizm, where it divides up into many channels; the remaining portion is emptied below the main city of Khuwārizm (*i.e.* Kiata) into a lake on the shore of which the town Jurjania is situated. In these lands there is no lake larger than this; it is even said that this is the largest one in the entire world...It is navigable and receives the waters of the Farghāna and the Shāsh river, which flows along the Faraba land past the town Jadis. Boats proceed along this river up to the lake. On the lake a Turkish town 'Novgorod' is situated in which there are many mosques."¹ This testimony has been commented upon by L. S. Berg in his well-known monograph "The Aral Sea." His conclusion was that the Arab writers of the tenth century knew well that the Aral sea is detached.² On the basis

¹ 1861, pp. 211-212.

² 1908, p. 10.

of Mas'ūdī's information we can form an idea of the huge floods of the river Syr-Darya, which resulted in the villages being built on elevated hills, like fortresses, while the people communicated with each other by means of boats.¹

Mas'ūdī has divided all the nationalities which he knew into seven groups: he took their languages, as the basis of this division. In modern classifications of world nationalities such a principle is most widely accepted. The groups, according to Mas'ūdī, include:

1. Persians.
2. Chaldæans, Arabs and their kin.
3. Greeks, Slavs and Franks.
4. Libyans and Egyptians.
5. Turks.
6. Hindus and
7. Chinese.

Thus Mas'ūdī also knew the Slavs who lived in lands adjacent to the Khazars and Burtasses. A recent paper by B. N. Zakhoder (1956) establishes ancient relation that existed between the Volga region and the Near East and which, in the last analysis, provided the Khurāsān-Arab geographers with abundant material on the landscape and population of the Russian plain. Of interest is Mas'ūdī's statement that in the East fur was called "Burtass goods." B. N. Zakhoder writes that Mas'ūdī asserted "on the basis of the spherical shape of the earth, that the day and night at the pole lasted six months. In numerous stories about the Bulgars' short night, the length of this night is determined as equal to two hours, or even the time necessary to boil a pot of water; during winter time... the day was as short as the night in summer time. However, the severe climatic conditions of the Volga region, as visualized by Eastern geography, indicate a rejection of the possibility of the cultivation of grapes and other fruits by the Bulgars, Burtasses, Russes and Slavs. In this geography even the Lower Volga region was considered to possess a winter season of nine months."²

As can be seen from this short survey, the works of Mas'ūdī, and especially his *Golden Meadows* were widely used by Russian and Soviet geographers, mainly in the papers of those scholars who were engaged in research on the history of geography and historical geography of Middle Asia and the Near East, as well as on the southern regions of the European part of the Soviet Union.

1 Bartold, 1900, p. 178.

2 1956, p. 21.

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DIYĀR AL-SHĀM ACCORDING TO AL-MAS'ŪDĪ

BY

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'Alī Ibn al-Ḥusayn Ibn 'Alī al-Mas'ūdī was a descendant of the great traditionalist 'Abdullāh Ibn Mas'ūd. According to *al-Fihrist*¹ he came to the eastern part of the Muslim world from North Africa. There is no indication, however, when he or his father arrived in Baghdad where he spent his early years and seems to have received his initial education. Possessed of a roaming soul, he travelled in almost all Muslim countries and visited parts of India as well. It may be possible to arrange an itinerary of his visits, but this paper will not be concerned except with the fact that between the years 314 A.H. (926-7) and 332 A.H. (943-4) he visited Syria twice, and certainly spent some time in Palestine, in Damascus and in Antioch.² It is most unfortunate that his large book known as *Kitāb Akhbār al-Zamān*, in 30 volumes, has completely disappeared except for volume I which is preserved in the library of Vienna.³ His other book known as *al-Kitāb al-Ausat*, which was a summary of the larger work, has also been lost. Indeed, either of these two books would have provided us with more detailed information about Diyār al-Shām in the 4th century A.H. Therefore we have to confine ourselves to the two of his existing works, namely, *Murūj al-Dhahab* and *Kitāb al-Tanbīh wa'l-Ishrāf*.

Murūj al-Dhahab

Amongst others is Buḥayra⁴ the monk who was a follower of the religion of Christ, Jesus the son of Mary, may peace be on Him. The name of Buḥayra amongst Christians is *Jirjis*. ... When the Messenger of God ... went to Syria with his uncle at the age of 12 years ... they passed by Buḥayra ... and he recognized the Messenger of God; ... so he received his guests well, treated them kindly and served them with good food. ... He told Abū Bakr and others about the future Prophet and asked his uncle Abū Tālib that the young boy should return back home. Buḥayra warned them that the people of the Book will be after him.

1 p. 219.

2 *Al-Tanbīh wa'l-Ishrāf* (Leiden, 1893) p. 159.

3 Abdul Hamid, M.M., edition of al-Mas'ūdī, Baghdād (n.d.) p. 9; See Brockelmann, *Geschichte Ar. Lit.* S. II, 220.

4 On Baḥīra see *E.I.* vol. I, pp. 576-7.

The country of al-Shām is nothing but clouds and hills, winds and mists, and heavy rains. It dampens the bodies and causes brains to act slowly, while it gives its own people clear complexions. This specially applies to the land of Hims which improves the body, clarifies complexion, causes people to be stupid ... and makes people bad tempered. ... However, ye Commander of the Faithful, the land of al-Shām is extremely fertile ... where trees are numerous, rivers are many, and revenues are abundant. It has the birth places of prophets, and Jerusalem the desired; and of most of God's noble creatures, of ascetics and worshipers; in its mountains abide religious worshippers and isolated monks.¹ (Vol. III, pp. 124-25).

Why was Diyār al-Shām called by this name? Here al-Mas'ūdī repeats what had been said before, which since his time has also been always quoted by traditional Arab historians and geographers. To sum up al-Shām was called so (a) because it was to the left of the rising sun, (b) because of a large number of moles, white and black, in its land, earth, plants, and trees,² and (c) because the descendants of Sam, the son of Noah, were the first dwellers of this country. When later on the Arabs came to live in the country they avoided the word Sam and called it Shām. (Vol. III, pp. 140-41).

References to the Cannanites who lived in part of Diyār al-Shām (Vol. III, p. 294).

On the 5th of October the people there (al-Shām) celebrate the feast of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem.³ Christians come from all parts of the world, where a fire descends on them from heaven, which lights their candles. Many Muslims attend the festivities as observers. Leaves of olive trees are collected. The Christians have many stories told about the feast. The fire is done through a fine trick and has a great secret which we have described in our book entitled *The Book of Problems and Experiences*⁴. ... January has 31 days, on the first day of which the feast of Epiphany is celebrated. The people of al-Shām light fires on that day, and enjoy the occasion, especially in the city of Antioch. In the church of al-Qisyān a great mass is held.

1 Quoted by al-Mas'ūdī as from a reply given by someone at the request of the Caliph 'Umar I.

2 Ascribed to al-Kalbī by al-Mas'ūdī.

3 This is the feast of the Holy Cross on which day the Christians celebrated its finding in Jerusalem by Empress Helen in the 4th century A.D. However, it is celebrated on September 14 and not in October.

4 . كتاب القضايا و التجارب

The holding of a mass on that day goes for all al-Shām and Jerusalem, Egypt and all lands of Christendom. Christians of Antioch celebrate the occasion with splendour, joy, happiness, eating and drinking in which the masses as well as many of the aristocracy participate because Antioch is the centre of the Patriarch, who is highly honoured in its religion. Christians call Antioch the City of God. They also call it the City of the King and the Mother of Cities, because it was there that Christianity first appeared. ... Christianity has four patriarchs, the first in Rome, the second in Constantinople, ... the third in Alexandria, ... and the fourth in Antioch. Rome and Antioch were Peter's... Lately they have created another patriarchate in Jerusalem.

In Antioch there are the Churches of Istoset which has a great feast, and ... Mazurah which is one of the greatest buildings of the world. ... The Caliph al-Walīd took many of the fine marble columns of this church for the Mosque of Damascus,¹ but most of it is still standing today. (Vol. III, pp. 405-8).

Al-Mas'ūdī discusses the kings of Diyār al-Shām² beginning with those of mythology down to the Ghassānids, who ruled in the inner parts of the country up to the Muslim conquest. One of these prominent rulers was Jablah ibn al-Ayham, whose praise was sung by the poet Ḥassān b. Thābit al-Anṣārī.³ In one of his poems he enumerates places where the Ghassānids dominated.

After giving a summary on the Ghassānids, al-Mas'ūdī refers his readers to his book *Akḥbār al-Zamān* for further information. Then he goes on to say that the area, al-Shām, saw, earlier in its history, numerous kings including the people of Lot, who lived in Sodom and Gomorrah.⁴ (Vol. III, pp. 214-22).

Al-Tanbīh wa'l-Ishrāf

The latitudes of Baghdad, Damascus, Tyre and Sidon all are 33° N. (p. 43).

The Urunt (Orentes) is the river of Ḥims, Ḥamāh, Shayzar and Antioch. It springs at the village known as al-Labwah between Ḥims and Damascus.⁵ It flows through the Lake of Qadas (Lake of Ḥims)

1 Creswell, *History of Early Moslem Architecture*, vol. I, pp. 97-146.

2 See Nöldeke, *Umarā' Ghassan*, Arabic translation by Jouze and Zurayk, Beirut, 1933.

3 See 'Abbas, I., *Ḥassān ibn Thābit*, Cairo.

4 See *Dictionary of the Bible*.

5 Al-Labwah is not exactly between Damascus and Ḥims. This village is situated about 10 miles north-west of Baalback.

and the Lake of Famiyah. In the neighbourhood of Antioch it receives the waters of Nahr al-Ruoya, which comes from the Lake of Jindāris.¹ (pp. 58-9).

History of al-Shām under the Romans: Al-Mas'ūdī relates this briefly in connection with the history of Rome. He makes the mistake of giving the credit for the conquest of the area to Augustus.

Al-Mas'ūdī states that Christ was born six days before the end of Kānūn al-Awwal (= 25 December).² His brief reference to the baptism of Christ in the River Jordan by John the Baptist is correct, but he uses, in addition to the Christian Arabized name Yuhannā for John, the Muslim name Yaḥyā ibn Zakarīyā. For Christ he uses both Masīḥ and Ayshū' (Syriac form?).

Al-Mas'ūdī also states that the Christians of al-Shām fast on Wednesday because Christ was born on that day, and on Friday because on that day he was crucified. He adds, however, that this fasting is voluntary and not obligatory (أكل جوعاً لا فرضاً) (pp. 124-5).

Al-Mas'ūdī refers to Titus' seige of Jerusalem. The second Jewish revolt under Hadrian is also mentioned briefly. Al-Mas'ūdī was aware of the changes effected by Hadrian in Romanizing the city. He mentions the building of a temple, and the sending of Greeks and Romans to live in it. (pp. 127-8).

Helen built in Ilia the church known as *al-Qiyāmah* (The Holy Sepulchre). This is the church from which fire appears on the Saturday preceding Easter Sunday.³ She built a church for Constantine and convents for women and men on the mountain which overlooks the city of Jerusalem, known as Ṭūr Zaytā (the Mount of Olives).

There are four *ṭūrs* (mountains) which are venerated by the Christians. The first is Ṭūr-Sīnā (the Mount of Sinai) ..., the second Ṭūr Hārūn ..., the third Ṭūr Zaytā, just mentioned, and the fourth the

1 This area has a number of lakes. However, the statement shows the interest al-Mas'ūdī had in trying to know the region.

2 The practice of celebrating Christmas on 25th December had come in the East in 378 A.D.

3 Christ was born on a Sunday. Fasting is not really a voluntary matter in Christianity.

4 Al-Mas'ūdī mentions that the appearance of fire was done by a trick. It is unfortunate that this trick was given in one of his lost works. See Ziadeh, Nicola A., *Ruḥuṣṣat al-Sharq al-'Arabī fī'l-'uṣūr al-Wusta*, Cairo 1943, p. 54.

Ṭūr of the Jordan (Mount Tabor) between Palestine and Tiberias.¹ All are venerated by the Melkites. (pp. 143-4).

Helen also built a church in Ḥims, which was one of the wonders of the world. (p. 144).

During the reign of Maurice (582-602) there appeared a man from the town of Ḥamāh of the province of Ḥims, whose name was Mārūn,² who is the founder of the Maronite Christian Church, and whom they follow down to the times of writing of this book. They are a well-known sect in al-Shām and in other places. Most of them live in the Mountain of Lebanon, in Sanir, in Ḥims and the provincial towns attached to it like Ḥamāh, Shayzar and Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān.³ He had a very large monastery, known after him, to the east of Ḥamāh and Shayzar. It was a large construction with about 300 cells in which monks lived. All vessels used in the church were made of gold and silver. Besides, it had many jewels. The monastery and the cells were destroyed through the raids of the Bedouins and the despotic rule of the government.⁴ This monastery was near the Orentes, the river of Ḥims and Antioch.

Mārūn had expounded religious opinions in which he differed from other Christians in the doctrine of the Divine Will and other points. His followers increased. Al-Mas'ūdī says that Mārūn agreed with the Melkites, the Nestorians and the Jacobites on the doctrine of Trinity. He, however, held the view that Christ (reflected) two substances: one, Person, and the other, Divine Will. Al-Mas'ūdī goes on to say that this was a medium course between the Nestorians and the Melkites.

One of the followers of Mārūn, Qays the Maronite,⁵ wrote an excellent history of the Melkites which al-Mas'ūdī, who is usually careful in his evaluation, praises very highly. Another history which al-Mas'ūdī praises is that of Sa'īd b. al-Bitrīq.⁶ (p. 153).

- 1 Here the term Palestine is used, as known then, as an administrative division. Mount Tabor is about 10 miles to the east of Nazareth.
- 2 This is Yuḥannā Mārūn; he is not the founder of the Maronite Church, who was another person called Mār (St.) Mārūn.
- 3 Shayzar, or whatever exists of it, has had no Christians for a number of centuries. The Christians of Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān had either migrated or else were converted to Islam some time in the 17th Century.
- 4 The whole area has always been exposed to a tug-of-war between nomads and settled population. Irresponsible government would always increase losses of the area.
- 5 According to a number of people working on Maronite historiography this name is almost apocryphal.
- 6 See Brockelmann, *Geschichte, Ar. Lit.* S. I, 228.

AL-MAS'ŪDĪ ON KASHMIR

BY

MOHIBBUL HASAN

No Muslim geographer before the thirteenth century, with the exception of al-Bīrūnī (973-1048), gives such a reliable account of Kashmir as Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Alī al-Mas'ūdī, the "Herodotus of the Arabs." Some geographers like Abu'l-Fidā' and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa omit Kashmir altogether; others like al-Maḡdisī and Idrīsī refer only to the geographical location of Kashmir; while there are still others like Abū Dulaf Miṣ'ar (940), who is said to have visited the Valley,¹ and Ibn al-Wardī (1371) whose information is like the Arabian fairy tales in which right and wrong is mixed up. Mas'ūdī's account, on the other hand, though defective—it is extremely brief and is sometimes based on hearsay or copied from other sources—is, for the most part reliable.

Mas'ūdī came to India in 915, and in the course of his stay of two years he visited various parts of the country, including Multān and Maṣūra. He, however, omitted Kashmir from his itinerary. Therefore, the information that he gathered about Kashmir which he calls *Qashmīr*,² was either based on previous accounts, or casually obtained from persons he met in the Indus Valley.

At the time of Mas'ūdī's visit to the Indus Valley, the throne of Kashmir was occupied by the Utpala dynasty which had succeeded the Kārkoṭas after their overthrow in 855. Avantivarman (855-83), the first ruler of the Utpala dynasty, was a remarkable ruler, whose reign is noted not for any wars of conquests but for internal reforms which brought about great prosperity to the country. His son and successor, Saṃkaravarman, was also a great king, though he was more interested in undertaking wars of self-aggrandisement than in improving the condition of his subjects. After he was killed in battle in 902, he was succeeded by incompetent rulers, under whom real power was exercised by a body of foot soldiers called Tantrin who made and unmade kings.

1 Gabriel Ferrand, *Relations de Voyages et Textes Géographiques*, etc., Paris, vol., I, p. 89.

2 Mas'ūdī, *Murūj al-Dhahab*, ed. and tr. Barbier de Meynard and Pavet de Courteille, Paris, vol., I, p. 373.

The country was a prey to jealousies, intrigues, internecine conflicts and misgovernment.¹

Such was the condition of Kashmir at the time of Mas'ūdī's visit to the Indus Valley. Unfortunately, Mas'ūdī does not make any reference to the chaotic conditions prevalent in Kashmir. He only contents himself by saying that its ruler was styled as *Rāi*.² He, however, avoids the mistake of other writers who state that Kashmir belonged to the kingdom of Qanauj.³ Instead, he says that it was part of Harsha's empire, and that after his death it became independent under its own rulers.⁴ Now al-Mas'ūdī's Harsha could not be Harsha Vardhana (606-47), for at the time the latter was ruling Northern India Kashmir was independent. Al-Mas'ūdī's Harsha must be Vikramāditya-Harsha, the famous king of Ujjain, who ruled in the first half of the sixth century. As Stein observes: "It appears probable that Vikramāditya-Harsha had assisted in or at least profited by the overthrow of the Epthalite dominion. It is therefore possible also that he exercised ... direct influence on the affairs of Kashmir ..."⁵

Al-Mas'ūdī sometimes uncritically imitates his predecessors, and places credence on hearsay and legends. Thus he seems to accept the absurd story that Srinagar was founded by Kay Kaous, the mythical king of Persia,⁶ although Kashmir was never ruled by Persia, and Srinagar was founded not by a Persian king but by Asoka; and later Pravarasena II built the new town of Srinagar close to the old site.⁷ Similarly Mas'ūdī's statement that Kashmir is a part of Sindh is without any foundation,⁸ for Kashmir had never any connection with Sindh. Mas'ūdī, probably, borrowed this idea from Balādhurī who stated that Hishām al-Taghlibī, the Arab governor of Sindh, had conquered Kashmir.⁹ In reality the Arabs were never able to reduce it. Muḥammad b. Qāsim after his conquest of Sindh and the lower Punjab wanted to invade Kashmir, but before he could do so, he was recalled by the Caliph Sulaymān. However, Junayd, governor of Sindh

1 Kalhaṇa *Rājataranginī*, i, intro., pp. 97 ff. trans. M. A. Stein.

2 Mas'ūdī, *op. cit.*, I, p. 373.

3 *Hudūd al-'Ālam*, tr. and commentary by V. Minorsky, Oxford, 1937, p. 92.

4 Mas'ūdī, *op. cit.*, I, 162.

5 Kalhaṇa, *op. cit.*, pp. 83-4.

6 Mas'ūdī, *op. cit.*, II, p. 131.

7 Kalhaṇa, ii, *op. cit.*, 439 ff.

8 Mas'ūdī, *op. cit.*, I, p. 373.

9 Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-Bulḍān*, ed. Riḍwān Muḥammad Riḍwān, Cairo 1932, p. 431.

under the Caliph Hishām, attempted an invasion of Kashmir, but he was defeated by Lalitāditya (724-60).¹ Later, Hishām al-Taghlibī also invaded Kashmir, but he too failed to enter the Valley.²

As regards the geographical information given by Mas'ūdī regarding the Valley of Kashmir, it is extremely meagre. He correctly states that one of the five rivers of the Punjab takes its origin in Kashmir.³ This river is no other than the Jehlam, which is formed by the meeting of several streams like the Sandran, the Bring, the Arapath and the Ladar which drain the south-eastern portion of the Valley. However, he does not mention anything more either about this river or the territory through which it passes. Mas'ūdī then says that Kashmir is a mountainous country, consisting of 60,000 to 70,000 villages, inaccessible valleys and thick forests, and surrounded by steep mountain ramparts.⁴ This is a true picture of the country. But his statement that the Valley of Kashmir is accessible only through a single pass,⁵ is far from being true, for there are a number of passes leading into the country.⁶

It is clear from the above analysis that al-Mas'ūdī showed no great interest in Kashmir. It is certain that if he had visited the Valley, he would have left a more detailed information about it. Nevertheless, it must be pointed out that if he wanted he could have provided himself with sufficient information regarding Kashmir from the people in the Indus Valley as did al-Bīrūnī a century later. But Mas'ūdī possessed neither al-Bīrūnī's wide curiosity and deep thirst for knowledge nor his thoroughness and scientific training.

1 R. C. Majumdar, *The Classical Age*, 134, 174.

2 *Ibid.*, See for a fuller treatment of the Arab invasions of Kashmir, Mohibbul Hasan, *Kashmir Under the Sultans*, Iran Society Calcutta, 1959, pp. 26-7.

3 Mas'ūdī, *op. cit.*, I, 373.

4 *Ibid.*

5 *Ibid.*, I, p. 373.

6 See for these passes, Mohibbul Hasan, *op. cit.*, pp. 22-6.

AL-MAS'ŪDĪ AND THE PHILOSOPHER AL-FĀRĀBĪ

BY

S. M. STERN

Al-Mas'ūdī was no philosopher—but his inquisitive mind, not unnaturally, was eager to assimilate, together with most other aspects of contemporary intellectual life, the work of the philosophers also. It would be a rewarding task to collect all his references to philosophical subjects, but as I had to compose my contribution to the present volume at short notice, I cannot undertake it on this occasion, and have to confine myself to discussing the most important of al-Mas'ūdī's passages about philosophy. My chief aim is to draw attention to the fact that in this passage he shows a detailed acquaintance with the contents of the main work by his contemporary al-Fārābī, namely his book *On the Opinions of the Inhabitants of the Excellent City*. That Mas'ūdī should be acquainted with the person of the leading philosopher of his time is not surprising; and as he explicitly mentions al-Fārābī's name, this has not passed unnoticed. In effect, the last paragraph of the passage which I am going to translate and comment upon, was used, and used to very good purpose indeed, by M. Meyerhof in his admirable study on the transmission of the teaching of philosophy from the Greeks to the Muslims.¹ On the other hand it has not been noticed, as far as I am aware, that a great part of the passage is nothing else but a *précis* of al-Fārābī's *Excellent City*.

The passage in question is found in al-Mas'ūdī's *Book of Admonition and Revision* (*al-Tanbīh wa'l-Ishrāf*), ed. de Goeje, pp. 115-22.² In the following translation I have, in order to facilitate reference, divided the text into paragraphs. I shall now give an analysis of the text following this division.

The whole passage is a recapitulation of some pages from one of

- 1 'Von Alexandrien nach Baghdad. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des philosophischen und medizinischen Unterrichts bei den Arabern', *Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Phil.-Hist. Klasse, 1930, pp. 389-429; see pp. 406-7.
- 2 The passage is contained in A. Carra de Vaux's French translation (*Le livre de l'avertissement et de la revision*, Paris 1896), pp. 158-71; there is no annotation worth mentioning.

the author's earlier books, *The Branches of Knowledge and the Events of Past Ages*, which, as is well known, is no longer extant. As al-Mas'ūdī himself says that this book has been written after his *Gold-fields* (*Murūj al-Dhahab*),¹ it must be dated between the years 336/947, the date of the *Murūj*, and 345/956, that of the *Tanbih*.

Paragraph 1 deals with the history of the Greeks. Al-Mas'ūdī probably compiled various authorities, such as Christian chroniclers, and writers on the history of philosophy; at the present stage of our knowledge we cannot be more definite about his sources. In § 2 al-Mas'ūdī gives the main lines of the history of Greek philosophy, dividing its representatives into 'natural' and 'divine' philosophers; here, too, his source cannot be determined.

The long philosophical passage (§§ 3-17) is given as an account of the 'opinion of Socrates and his followers'—that is to say the Islamic philosophers (and more especially al-Fārābī) are considered as the legitimate expounders of the 'divine' philosophy of Socrates and his successors—as opposed to the 'natural' philosophy of the Pre-Socratics.

Paragraphs 3-12 are based on al-Fārābī's *Excellent City* (*al-Madīnat al-Fādila*). Al-Mas'ūdī made ample use of the Table of Contents which al-Fārābī has put at the front of his book. It is true that there are a few phrases which do not recur in the Table of Contents, but can be paralleled by passages from the body of the book; but they are so few as to raise the suspicion that al-Mas'ūdī had before him a more complete Table than that contained in the MSS. of the book. (This impression is strengthened by the observation that al-Mas'ūdī has some phrases which do not recur in the book either, but which seem to be in the genuine manner of al-Fārābī.) It looks therefore as if al-Mas'ūdī contented himself with quoting the Table of Contents. In the notes I quote the relevant phrases from the Table of Contents (following the division into paragraphs as it is found in the edition of Dieterici) and from the body of the book (following the pages of the same edition).

Paragraphs 13-17 deal with certain metaphysical and psychological concepts, in which a strong Neoplatonic vein is apparent. As at the present moment I cannot offer a definitive analysis of these paragraphs, I leave their detailed study for some future occasion.

Paragraph 18 refers to the books in which Aristotle expounded

1 *Tanbih*, p. 2. All the quotations from the book made in the *Tanbih* are listed by de Goeje in the preface to his edition, p. vi.

the doctrine of the eternity of the world ; to the doctrine of the survival of the soul ; and finally to a doctrine held by some sects about the two 'spirits'.

Paragraph 19 gives a short extract from some history of Greek philosophy ; the method of translating the proper names shows that we have here the same source which al-Mas'ūdī used for the interpretation of the names of Aristotle and Nicomachus in § 1.

Paragraphs 20-21 are obviously based on an 'introduction to philosophy.' As is well known, the Alexandrian commentators of Aristotle, such as Ammonius, his pupil Olympiodorus, and the pupils of Olympiodorus: Elias and David, as well as the Syriac commentators who followed their example, prefaced their commentaries on Porphyry's *Isagoge*, the first book to be expounded in a course on Aristotle's logical books, by introductory material about philosophy in general, while their comments on Aristotle's *Categories*, the next book in the course, was preceded by introductory remarks on literary problems connected with Aristotle's logical books. Taking such material in Greek or Syriac as their model, the philosophers who wrote in Arabic also composed introductions to philosophy—derived from the introductory remarks to the *Isagoge*, and introductions to the logical books of Aristotle—derived in their turn from the introductory remarks to the *Categories*. I suggest that al-Mas'ūdī derived his information from a treatise of this kind by al-Fārābī. My reasons are as follows: in § 22 he gives a history of philosophical instruction which is demonstrably based on an account by al-Fārābī, as a parallel passage in Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a, is expressly quoted from al-Fārābī's treatise *On the first appearance of philosophy*. If we assume that al-Mas'ūdī used for his account the same treatise, we may further assume that it also contained general introductory remarks derived from the Alexandrian commentators, and that these were copied by al-Mas'ūdī. On the other hand one could assume, as an alternative solution, that both the introductory remarks and the historical sketch come from some other treatise by al-Fārābī in which he repeated what he had said in the treatise *On the first appearance of philosophy*.

TRANSLATION OF AL-MAS'ŪDĪ'S PASSAGE

(ed. de Goeje, pp. 115-22)

§ 1. We have dealt in our book *The Branches of Knowledge and the Events of Past Ages*¹ with the stories of the Greeks, their genealogies, their opinions and their country. We have mentioned the controversy

¹ كتاب فنون المعارف، و ما جرى في الدهور السوالف

about their descent among those who say that they are the descendants of Yūnān, son of Japhet, son of Noah; those who say that Yūnān was the son of Reu, son of Peleg, son of Eber, son of Shelah, son of Arpachshad, son of Shem, son of Noah; those who say that Yūnān was the son of Eber, and the brother of Qaḥṭān, son of Eber; and those who hold that they are the descendants of Eliphaz, son of Esau, son of Isaac, son of Abraham and thus they are the brothers of the Rūm; and other views.¹ We have explained how they were overcome by the Rūm so that they were accounted as belonging to the Rūm to the extent that even their name was forgotten and their memory extinguished, and all were called after the Rūm through the victory gained by Augustus the king over them, when he went forth from Rome to Syria and Egypt.² We have also mentioned the controversy about the philosophers, such as Pythagoras, Thales, Empedocles, the Stoics and the people of the Stoa,³ Archilaus, Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Theophrastus, Themistius, Hippocrates, Galen, and the other philosophers and physicians, whether they were Rūm or Greeks, and quoted passages from their books to show that they were Greeks, and quoted the opinion of those who say that they were Rūm.⁴ We have mentioned the stories of their kings,

1 For further details about the various genealogies see the authors *Murūj al-Dhahab*, ch. xxv (vol. II, pp. 247 ff.). The first view is in accordance with the Biblical statement (Genesis, x, 2) according to which Javan (= Yūnān) was a son of Japhet, son of Noah. In the second version, the line from Noah to Reu is in accordance with the data in Genesis x and xi, but I cannot find the authority for the view that Javan was the son of Reu. The third view is that of the philosopher al-Kindī, in whose name it is quoted at length in *Murūj*, II, 244. (According to Genesis, x, 25, Eber had two sons: Peleg and Joktan = Qaḥṭān). The fourth view is connected with the traditional Jewish derivation of the Romans from Esau.

2 In fact, many of the Greek territories were incorporated by the Romans during the Republican period—but as in the chronographic tradition the Greeks were chiefly represented by the list of the Ptolemaic rulers of Egypt whose line ended with Cleopatra, who was defeated by Augustus, the fusion of Greeks and Romans is counted from the establishment of the Roman Empire by Augustus. (Similarly in *Sā'id al-Andalusī, Taḥqiqāt al-Umam*, p. 34).

3 Al-Mas'ūdī did not realize that both the terms *al-musiqyān* and *aṣḥab al-usṭuqān* referred to the Stoics, being different translations of the Greek word.

4 As 'Rūm' was the usual name for the Greek-speaking Byzantines, the designation of the Greeks as 'Rūm' is easily explained. When the Muslims acquired a more accurate knowledge of ancient history though their information on the history of the Greeks always remained singularly vague—they distinguished between the 'Yūnān', the ancient Greeks, and the 'Rūm', the Romans and Byzantines, and stressed that the philosophers belonged to the 'Yūnān'. (Similarly, *Sā'id*, pp. 35-6).

their wars, the stories of Alexander, his journeys in the West and the East, the countries which he entered, the kings whom he encountered, the cities which he built, the wonders which he saw, the story of the Wall, *i.e.* the Barrier of Gog and Magog, the letters and messages which passed between him and his teacher Aristotle, the son of Nicomachus, the author of the books on logic and other books about statecraft and religious policy, etc. (The meaning of Aristotle is 'perfect food'; others say 'one possessing perfect virtue', because 'Aristo' means 'virtue', 'toles' means 'perfect'; the meaning of Nicomachus is 'conqueror of the enemy'¹.) We have mentioned the controversy about Alexander, whether he is the same as Dhu'l-Qarnayn or not, the various opinions about this subject; the stories of his successors, such as Antiochus, the founder of Antioch (which was named after him, the Arabs changing its name into Antākiya), and Seleucus, the founder of Seleuceia, and others, and of the wars which occurred between these and the rulers of Alexandria in Egypt.²

§ 2. We have also mentioned the stories and opinions of the philosophers—both the natural and the divine philosophers—and those of them who were killed; the opinions which they held, up to the times of Socrates, Plato and Aristotle, on political philosophy; the opinions which these introduced in contrast to those of their predecessors and in contradistinction of the old natural philosophy taught by Pythagoras, Thales of Milet, the commonalty of the Greeks, and the Šābi'ans of Egypt, whose remnants in our days are the Šābi'ans of Harrān;³

- 1 The first explanation of the name Aristotle is based on an amusing mistake: *aristos*, 'the best', was confused with *ariston*, 'breakfast'. The other explanation of Aristotle, and that of Nicomachus, are nearer to the truth; they are quoted from al-Mas'ūdī by Šā'id, p. 24, whence Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a, i, 54.
- 2 The history of Alexander was well known to the Muslims from various accounts based on the romance of Pseudo-Callisthenes. As Arabic tradition knew of other persons called Dhu'l-Qarnayn (see e.g. *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, s.v.), controversies arose about the question whether the Dhu'l-Qarnayn mentioned in the Koran (Sura xviii) really referred to Alexander.—The note about the foundation of the cities is not quite correct: in fact both Antioch and Seleuceia were founded by Seleucus I, son of Antiochus. The ultimate source, the Chronicle of Eusebius, correctly says so (under the year 304 B.C.)—the error crept in in course of the passage of the note through the various intermediaries. (The same mistake occurs also in Agapius of Manbij, *Kitāb al-Unwān*, ed. Vasiliev [Patrologia Orientalis, XI|I], p. 237).
- 3 The Šābi'ans of Harrān were the last survivors of ancient paganism; their religion consisted of a syncretism of Greek and Mesopotamian paganism, upon which was grafted, by the intellectual elite amongst them, Neoplatonic philosophy. They are connected with Egypt on the ground that works attributed to Hermes Trismegistus—a figure derived from that of the Egyptian god Thot—were current amongst them. The doctrines of the

Aristotle mentions this in his book *On Animals* (which consists of nineteen books) in the following words: 'Since a hundred¹ years ago, since the time of Socrates, people turned from natural to political philosophy'.²

We have also mentioned the opinions of Socrates and his followers whom we have named above, about:

§ 3. The First Being, from whom beings derive their existence; how He infuses into them His bounty, how beings arise from Him, in which way He is the cause and the aim of their existence; what one ought to believe about Him³:

§ 4. Which are their degrees in being; how one is connected with the other and through what they are connected and joined; of what their matter consists; of what the substance of the natural, *i.e.* hylic, bodies, comprised by the heavenly bodies, consists; which are the degrees of the spiritual beings and which is the management entrusted to each of them⁴:

Sābi'ans are equated to 'old natural philosophy' here as well as in *Tanbih*, p. 162 quoted below, p. 41, note 1: as we explain there, it is possible that this historical construction connecting the Sābi'ans with Thales and Pythagoras is due to al-Rāzī.

1 In some MSS. (and the edition): 'twenty'. Sā'id (see next note) also has 'hundred'.

2 The quotation from Aristotle refers to *On the Parts of Animals*, I, 1, near the end (642a, 28-31): 'In the time of Socrates a nearer approach was made to the method of the correct explanation of the works of nature. But at this period men gave up inquiring into the works of nature, and philosophers diverted their attention to political science and to the virtues which benefit mankind'. (Ogle's translation.) The three major Zoological works of Aristotle were translated into Arabic by Yahyā ibn al-Bitriq and were regarded by Arabic writers as one great work consisting of nineteen books. Al-Mas'ūdī, however, is obviously not quoting the original text, but is following an inexact reference made by his unknown authority. (The passage in Sā'id, pp. 32-3, where the same distinction between natural and divine philosophy is supported by the same Aristotelian quotation is derived directly from al-Mas'ūdī.)

3 Cf. the Table of Contents (*Cont.*) of al-Fārābī's *Excellent City*, § 1: 'On the thing about which we ought to believe that it is God, may He be exalted — in which way He is the cause of all beings and they originate from Him'.

4 Cf. *Cont.*, § 2: 'On the beings about which one ought to believe that they are the angels — what their relations to each other are — in what their management consists, and how is this management; and that each is the cause of the heavenly body, the management of which belongs to it'; and *Cont.*, § 3: 'On the heavenly bodies, and that each of them is connected

§ 5. The soul of man ; how many are its faculties ; what the function is of each faculty ; their degrees in relation to each other¹; the enumeration of their organs and of their degrees ; which faculty is the ruling one and which are the degrees of its rule²; which are the serving and which those that are served³;

§ 6. How the intellect arises in man ; what the effect of the active intellect is in the rational part⁴; the controversy about the happiness which is man's goal and for the sake of which he is created and the misery which will be his portion if he strays from the path of happiness⁵;

§ 7. Sleep ; the various kinds of dream ; to which part of the soul it belongs ; what the truthful dream is, whence it comes to the soul, how it is that it foretells the truth, and in which sense ; which is the method of interpreting dreams⁶;

§ 8. Why there is a need for human associations ; the various kinds of association—association being the means of mutual help by which mankind reaches its aims ; which is the greater, middle, and lesser association ; which is the political association which obtains in the excellent city ; what the excellent city is ; which are the degrees of its parts and of its rulers ; how its parts are comparable to the parts of a living being, for they render mutual assistance to each other in order to perfect man's happiness, like the parts of a living being which help each other to perfect the life of the living being⁷;

with one of the secondary beings, and that each secondary being has the management of the heavenly body which is connected with it'; and *Cont.*, § 4: 'On the bodies which are beneath the heavens, i.e. the material bodies...'.
 1. *Fī*—in al-Fārābī: *min*, which is probably correct.
 2. *Wa-man intahā* seems unintelligible and must probably be omitted.
 3. Cf. *Cont.*, § 10: 'On man and the faculties of the human soul ... and their degrees in relation to each other...'; and *Cont.*, § 11: 'On the origins of his organs and their degrees, and on the relation of the degrees to each other; and which is the ruling one, and which are the subservient ones...'.
 4. Read 'الجزء' instead of 'الجزء' (cf. al-Fārābī).
 5. Cf. *Cont.*, § 13: 'How the objects of intellection are impressed in the rational part of the soul ... what the active intellect is ... what final happiness is ...'.
 6. Cf. *Cont.*, § 14: 'On the imaginative part of the soul ... and how dreams arise, and which its various kinds are, and to which part of the soul it belongs ... and how it is that some of them come true ...'.
 7. Cf. *Cont.*, § 15, first half: 'On man's need of association and mutual help, and which the various kinds of human association are; which are the excellent associations; what the excellent city is and how it is constituted;

§ 9. What the king and first chief of this city ought to be; which signs and conditions ought to be present in him from his birth and his youth, in order to be fit to rule the excellent city; the virtues by which he will become a perfect leader and excellent chief¹; which disciplines and crafts must be imparted to him in order to acquire the art of excellent kingship, and in which communities these are to be found commonly and in which rarely²; whether he is one of the parts of the city, or stands outside it, according to the controversy which exists in this respect between Plato and Aristotle—Plato having expounded his views in his book *The enquiry concerning the king of the excellent city who is the true philosopher*, Aristotle in his book on *Politics*³;

§ 10. The number of the parts of this city and their paradigms in nature⁴; what ought to be the rulerships which follow the rank of the first ruler in this city; how these rulerships are made perfect and are constituted⁵.

§ 11. How many kinds of cities there are, as opposed to the

which are the degrees of its parts', and cf. pp. 53 ff., and more especially p. 53 l.17: 'the perfect association is of three kinds: greater, middle and lesser', and p. 54 l.10 ff.: 'the excellent city is similar to the perfect and healthy body, the parts of which render mutual assistance to each other, in order to perfect the life of the living being'. (Something like these sentences may have been present in the Table of Contents used by al-Mas'ūdī.)

- 1 Cf. *Cont.*, § 15, second half: 'What the excellent first chief ought to be (omitted *tartīb*); which signs and conditions must we attribute to him in his youth and adolescence; which, if they are found in him, make him suitable to become an excellent chief, which virtues must he have when he reaches his age, in order to become an excellent first chief; and cf. p. 60 l.18: 'in whom these conditions are found together from his birth and his youth (read *man'jtama'at fihī min mawlidihī wa-ḡibāhū*).'
- 2 There is no corresponding text either in the Table of Contents or in the body of the book; but probably there was one in the version of the Table of Contents used by al-Mas'ūdī.
- 3 This problem is not treated in al-Fārābī's *Excellent City*. In the *Muruʾ*, iv, 8, quoting a still earlier work of his, al-Mas'ūdī states that the problem 'whether the king of the city is one of its parts, or stands outside it and is the culmination of its parts' was treated by Porphyry in his book about the controversy which exists in this respect between Plato and Aristotle'. The reference is probably to Porphyry's treatise in which he discussed the thesis that 'the philosophy of Plato and Aristotle is one and the same'. This has been lost, but is quoted in a bibliographical list: see J. Bidez, *Vie de Porphyre*, Gand 1913, p. 68.
- 4 Seems to be a repetition of some sentences in § 8.
- 5 Seems to refer to the contents of p. 60 l.17—p. 61 l.15; there is, however, no verbal correspondence. It is most likely that there was a corresponding passage in the Table of Contents of the MS. used by al-Mas'ūdī.

excellent city: such as the ignorant cities, the erring cities, the wicked cities; the degrees of their kings and rulerships and their aims, and what is the goal of their mutual help¹; which are the kinds of happiness which falls in the other world to the lot of the souls of the inhabitants of the excellent city, and the kinds of unhappiness which falls in the other world to the lot of the souls of the inhabitants of the cities opposed to the excellent city;² which are the things which the inhabitants of the excellent city ought to know and practice in common in order to achieve the perfect happiness which is their goal³; how the inhabitants of the excellent city can be distinguished from the communities and cities which are their opposites⁴; what the condition of the inhabitants of the excellent city ought to be if they have no city of their own but are strangers in cities which are the opposites of their city⁵;

§ 12. We have also mentioned the erroneous principles which give rise to the various ignorant opinions, societies, cities and rulerships, and the erroneous principles which give rise to the various erring opinions, societies, cities and rulerships⁶;

§ 13. We have also mentioned their doctrines concerning the principles through which all beings exist: the first being, which has the most perfect existence of all, because its being is not for the sake of another, but it is the existence of all things outside itself which is for its sake, and things are from it, not it from them, for they derive their

- 1 Nothing corresponding to this is found in the Table of Contents as we have it; the reference is to pp. 61 ff.
- 2 Cf. *Cont.* § 16: 'The description of the extreme happiness which falls in the other world (read: *al-ḥayāt al-ūkhira*) to the lot of the souls of the inhabitants of the excellent city and the kind of unhappiness which falls after death to the lot of the souls of the inhabitants of the cities opposed to the excellent cities.
- 3 Nothing corresponding in the Table of Contents; but cf. p. 63 l.17 ff: 'The inhabitants of the excellent city have things which they must know and do in common, etc.'
- 4 Nothing corresponding in the Table of Contents; cf. p. 66 l.6 ff.
- 5 Nothing corresponding in the Table of Contents; but see p. 68 l.21 ff., which corresponds in contents but not in the terminology. The term 'strangers' is, however, used by al-Fārābī in other works of his, and this seems to confirm that al-Mas'ūdī read such a sentence in the Table of Contents of the MS. at his disposal.
- 6 Cf., *Cont.*, §§ 17-19: 'The description of things which give rise in the minds of many people to those erroneous and false principles from which ignorant opinions come into being; the enumeration (read *iqtiṣāṣ*) of the various kinds of ignorant opinions which give rise to the actions and societies of the ignorant cities; and the enumeration of the erroneous principles which give rise to the views from which originate the erring religions'.

existence from it, and it is all things, whilst the things are not it; knowing it means necessarily that there is no way leading to it except from itself, and no path to it except through itself, for no effect can perceive its cause, nor can a being created in time perceive an eternal one, nor a creature its creator¹;

§ 14. The secondary beings, which follow in existence the first; their degrees and their number, which correspond to the degrees and the number of the celestial bodies; the active intellect; the soul; form and matter; that the rest of beings consists of the bodies, which are of six kinds: the heavenly body, the rational living being, the irrational living being, the plants, and the stony, *i.e.* mineral bodies, and the four elements, *i.e.* fire, air, water and earth²;

§ 15. Their views concerning the first and second intellect, the soul, and the natures which are beneath it; their assertion that the intellect is the intermediary cause between God, may He be exalted, and His creation, and that it is through it that the rational soul is ennobled in its world, and that it is the mirror in which the rational soul can see its good and bad qualities, and consider the forms which may destroy or save it; their views concerning the rational soul and the other souls, *i.e.* the appetitive, imaginative, sensual and animal souls, and which of these is joined to the heavenly bodies which correspond to their number and are distributed according to them³;

1 Here al-Mas'ūdī ceases to follow al-Fārābī and reproduces an unidentified source—one which he had used in his earlier writings; see the next note.

2 In §§ 13 and 14 al-Mas'ūdī is evidently summarizing the same source which he had quoted, in an even more concise manner, in his *Muru'* (iv, 7-8) following an earlier work of his. The passage in the *Muru'* reads as follows: 'Others hold that the principles through which all beings exist, are the first being, the secondary beings, and the tertiary beings, according to their degrees, the soul, form and matter; and that these are the principles according to the way in which we have arranged them in our previous work, the *Book of the Dignities*, and that the rest of the beings consists of the bodies, which are of six kinds: the heavenly body, [the earthly body—these words must obviously be deleted] the rational living being, the irrational living being, the plants, and the stony, *i.e.* mineral, bodies, and the four elements *i.e.* fire, air, water, and earth'. There are some obscure points in these texts, but they cannot be discussed here.

3 Here al-Mas'ūdī reproduces doctrines which are patently Neoplatonic; note the hierarchy of intellect, soul, nature. The term 'first intellect', *i.e.* universal intellect, is used by al-Kindī; the term 'second intellect', *i.e.* the human intellect when it has passed into actuality, is used by Isaac Israeli, a follower of al-Kindī; see A. Altmann and S. M. Stern, *Isaac Israeli*, Oxford 1958, pp. 37-8. Some of the points mentioned by al-Mas'ūdī are rather obscure, and the source of the whole passage cannot be identified.

§ 16. That the rational soul is a simple substance, belonging to the living substances, and does not therefore die; that its death consists in its translation from one body into another; that on being separated from the body it sees everything contained in all the worlds and nothing remains hidden from it; that its aim and farthest goal is to gain happiness and reach the world of the intellect; that the soul is, in truth, man; the reason for its descent from the world of intellect into the world of sensation, becoming forgetful after it had possessed memory, and ignorant, after it had been knowing, according to those who hold this view¹;

§ 17. Why is man a microcosm, and which are the things which are united in him and for which he is a paradigm; which is the connection and relation between the various worlds, according to those whose opinions we have mentioned²;

§ 18. We have mentioned the opinion of Aristotle about the eternity of the cause and effect, which he expressed in the first and eighth books of the *Physics* (which consists of eight books) and in the book *On the Heaven and the World* (which consists of four books) and in the *Metaphysics* (which consists of thirteen books)³; and the view which all those who profess a divine law—in spite of all their controversies—as well as those who believe in the eternity of the world, hold about the ‘return’ after the separation of the souls from the bodies⁴; the opinion of the partisans of allegorical interpretation and others about the refined spirit which does not fall under the senses, and the coarse, sensible, spirit; and other fixed definitions of theirs, and other opinions and doctrines⁵;

§ 19. Al-Mas‘ūdī says: Aristotle is the disciple of Plato, Plato of Socrates; Socrates is the disciple of Archelaus in physics and the

- 1 This passage is also of Neoplatonic inscription—one can even say that it is very close to Plato’s own doctrine as expressed to the *Phædo*.
- 2 The idea of man being a microcosm is a commonplace.
- 3 The reference is to Aristotle’s doctrine about the eternity of the world, which was one of the classical problems discussed by Islamic philosophers. The references to Aristotle’s books are correct. (The *Metaphysics* is often said to consist of thirteen books, not counting the ‘Smaller Alpha’.)
- 4 The ‘return’ (*ma‘ād*) is the survival after death, which was professed not only by the followers of the revealed religions, but also—as al-Mas‘ūdī correctly states—by the philosophers, who, however, admitted the survival of the soul only.
- 5 I am unable to say anything about the distinction made by the ‘partisans of allegorical interpretation’ between the refined and the coarse spirit.

other sciences (Archelaus means 'chief of the animals of prey'); Archelaus is the disciple of Anaxagoras¹:

§ 20. We have also described in our book *The Branches of Knowledge and the Events of Past Ages* philosophy, its definitions, how many parts it has; the opinions of Pythagoras, Thales of Milet, the Stoics, Plato, Aristotle, and others, and their controversies about this; the description of the philosopher who really deserves to be called by this name, his way of life, his dispositions, attributes and his appearance; the degrees of philosophy; on what it was based; how it was taught until the present day, and what was its latest condition²:

§ 21. The scope of the books of logic; their description; the need for their compilation; the profit to be derived from them; why they consist of eight books; what the reason is for their order and the scope of each of them; which things must be studied first by one who wishes to read the book of logic; to which art philosophy belongs; how many definitions it has, and to whom each definition is attributed; how these definitions were reached; what the meaning is of each definition; how many are the primary and secondary divisions of philosophy, why it was divided, and why the division was made in that way³:

§ 22. Why political philosophy begins with Socrates, then Plato,

- 1 The line from Anaxagoras to Aristotle is correct, the interpretation of the name Archelaus is erroneous, as in fact it means 'chief of the people'; al-Mas'ūdī's authority confused the Greek words *leōs* 'people', and *leōn*, 'lion'.
- 2 The introductions to the *Isagoge* begin with the discussion of the question whether philosophy exists. Then follow the definitions of philosophy (six are traditionally given, and their presumed authors: Pythagoras, Plato, and Aristotle, named); each definition is then discussed in detail. After this the division of philosophy into theoretical and practical philosophy, and the subdivisions of these, are discussed. (For some reflections of these introductory material in Islamic philosophical literature see A. Altmann and S. M. Stern, *Isaac Israeli*, pp. 14, 28-9.) The description of the 'philosophical life' (*al-shaṭ al-falsafīya*, the 'bios' of the philosopher) does not form part of the Alexandrian introductions, but there were separate treatises devoted to it (e.g. by al-Rāzī, and later by Ibn al-Khammār); the introduction used by al-Mas'ūdī may have contained a passage on this subject. Similarly, it may have had a passage on the history of philosophy; see below § 22.
- 3 All the introductory material about the books of logic as enumerated in the first half of the paragraph were dealt with in the introductions to the *Categories*. The subjects mentioned in the second half of the paragraph ('To which art philosophy belongs', etc.) are discussed, as explained in the preceding note, in the introductions to the *Isagoge*.

then Aristotle, then his nephew Theophrastus, then Eudemus, then his successors one after the other ; how the seat of teaching was transferred from Athens to Alexandria in Egypt, and how the king Augustus, after the death of the queen Cleopatra, established the teaching in two places : in Alexandria and in Rome ; how the king Theodosius—in whose days the Sleepers of the Cave appeared—transferred the teaching from Rome back to Alexandria¹; for what reason the teaching was transferred in the days of ‘Umar ibn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz from Alexandria to Antioch, and then in the days of al-Mutawakkil to Ḥarrān ; in the days of al-Mu‘taḍid the teaching was done by Quwayrī and Yuḥannā ibn Ḥaylān who died in Baghdad during the reign of al-Muqtadir, and by Ibrāhīm al-Marwazī ; then by Abū Muḥammad ibn Karnīb and Abū Bishr Mattā ibn Yūnus, pupils of Ibrāhīm al-Marwazī. In our own days students rely on the commentaries made by Mattā on the logical books of Aristotle ; he died in Baghdad in the Caliphate of al-Rādī²; then Abū Naṣr Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad al-Fārābī, the pupil of Yuḥannā ibn Ḥaylān, who died in Damascus in Rajab, 339. At present I do not know of anyone to

1 § 22 gives a history of philosophy (cf. also the end of § 20), taken either from al-Fārābī's *On the first appearance of philosophy*, or from another parallel text by al-Fārābī. Theophrastus and Eudemus were the main pupils of Aristotle; Theophrastus was also his successor as the head of Aristotle's school, the Peripatos. Eudemus did not occupy the position of the head of the school, as al-Mas‘ūdī seems to imply. The following passage becomes intelligible if we compare the parallel passage in Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘a, ii, 134-5. There al-Fārābī says that there were twelve successors in the headship of the Peripatos, the last of whom, Andronicus, went from Alexandria to Rome in the reign of Augustus. Here true facts are mixed with errors. Andronicus was, according to the ancient sources, the tenth successor of Aristotle (or the eleventh, if Aristotle himself is included in the count). In fact, he seems to have lived in the first half of the first century B.C., i.e. before Augustus—but as the information about his date is not quite clear, al-Fārābī's dating is understandable. Andronicus did in fact have connections with Rome, so that al-Fārābī's idea that the school was transferred to Rome is again understandable. On the other hand, it is difficult to see where he got the idea that the school had been transferred previously to Alexandria; perhaps this is simply a reminiscence of the flourishing state of scholarship in Alexandria during the Ptolemaic age. The further statement about the transfer of the school from Rome to Alexandria is due to a mistaken identification of the Neoplatonic school of Alexandria (where Aristotelian studies were assiduously cultivated) with the old Peripatos. The parallel passage in Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘a contains some additional details, some of which are of great interest ; they are commented upon by Meyerhof, pp. 393-4.

2 For the account of the school in Islamic times see the detailed comments of Meyerhof. The parallel passage in Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘a, *ibidem* = Meyerhof, p. 405, again has some additional details. Meyerhof also quotes the relevant passage from other writers.

whom one can have recourse, apart from one Christian in Baghdad, called Abū Zakariyyā' ibn 'Adī, who started his career by following the opinions and studying the method of Muḥammad ibn Zakariyyā' al-Rāzī, which is the opinion of the Pythagoreans according to the older philosophy, as we have mentioned¹.

¹ Al-Fārābī brought down the account to his own time; the following sentences, about al-Fārābī's death, and about Abū Zakariyyā' Yahyā ibn 'Adī, were added by al-Masūdī. For al-Masūdī's description of al-Rāzī's philosophy as 'older' (lit. 'first') philosophy cf. above, § 2 and *Tanbih*, p. 162: Porphyry wrote in defence of Greek paganism 'which is the old philosophy professed by Pythagoras and Thales of Milet and others, and is identical with the doctrines of the Sābi'ans of Egypt'; many have defended these doctrines, the latest apology being a book by al-Rāzī. Al-Rāzī claimed to be a follower of the pre-Aristotelian Greek philosophers and at the same time of the Sābi'ans; see P. Kraus, *Rasā'il Falsafīyya li-Abī Bakr . . . al-Rāzī*, Cairo 1939, pp. 180-2, 187-9, 191-4. It is therefore very likely that the identification of the 'older' school of philosophy and the Sābi'ans is due to him. This passage is the only one where Yahyā ibn 'Adī is said to have been in his youth a follower of al-Rāzī.

THE SASSANIAN GENEALOGY IN MAS'ŪDĪ

BY

G. MORRISON

It is well known that Mas'ūdī is one of the most important sources on the history and civilization of Iran in pre-Islamic times. In common with other historians, Mas'ūdī sets out the supposed genealogy of the Sassanian kings of Iran, which purports to give the ancestry of *Ardashīr*, the first ruler of the dynasty. We may compare in the table attached to this paper other versions known to us. Mas'ūdī records two varying accounts of the genealogy, herein termed M. I and M. II.

The genealogies begin by introducing into the royal line of Iran, after *Bahman* son of *Isfandiyār*, a *Sāsān* whom we may for convenience call *Sāsān I*. The various traditions differ, however, on the subject of the offspring of *Sāsān I*.

In M. I, *Sāsān I* is represented as father of *Dārā*. Now, in the *Shāhnāme* the position is reversed, and *Dārā* is the father of *Sāsān I* — in other words the *Shāhnāme* introduces *Sāsān I* at a later point in the Iranian royal line. In M. I again, *Dārā* is followed by *بمهاوند* probably for *بمهافرید* (*Bihāfarīd*), which can be seen in the genealogies of *al-Birūnī* and *Ṭabarī* (II). This name also occurs in what is unfortunately an obscure passage of the Pahlavi *Bundahishn* where the genealogy of *Ardashīr* is in question. (Footnote: Gr. Bd. ed. Anklesaria, p. 232 l.10; West P. T. I, p. 137).

In the *Shāhnāme* *بمهافرید* (*Bihāfarīd*) is the daughter of *Gushtāsp*, father of *Isfandiyār*. In *Ṭabarī* (T II) *Sāsān I* is followed first by *بمهافرید* (*Bihāfarīdh*) and then by *زارار* (*Zarār*) which appears (as *Zarēr*) in the *Bundahishn* passage (Footnote: on *Zarēr*, v. M. Boyce, *BSOAS* XVII/3 1955, p. 467).

In M. II, *Sāsān I* is father of *مهرمنش* (*al-Birūnī*: *مهرمنش*; *Dīnawarī*: *مهریس*; var. in *Ibn al-Athīr*: *هرمنسن*; in Mas'ūdī also *مهرسن*; *Nöldeke*, *Ṭabarī*, p. 2, *Justi*, *Iranisches Namenbuch* s.v. *Mihrmās*. This is possibly the *مهرنوش* (*Mihrnōsh*) of the *Shāhnāme*, son of

Isfandiyār. In the *Bundahishn* (Ibid., 1.9) *Mihrtrīsh* appears as son of *Isfandiyār* (*Spandiyād*) (Footnote: I am greatly obliged to Professor R. C. Zaehner for his help and advice over this Pahlavi passage). This is probably connected with, or is even the origin of, the preceding forms of the name.

After an orderly series of *Sāsāns* and *Bābaks*, or, as in the *Shāhnāme*, several generations of *Sāsāns* (Footnote: *Shāhnāme*, Tehran 1314, VII, p. 1923 l. 67), we eventually reach *Ardashīr* son of *Bābak*.

Inscriptions and coins confirm that *Pāpak* was the father of *Ardashīr*. In the *Shāhnāme*, however, the last *Sāsān* is the father of *Ardashīr*, having become the shepherd of King *Pāpak* and married his daughter. Armenian sources, too, call *Ardashīr* "son of *Sāsān*."

To sum up, the genealogy in *Mas'ūdī* which we here call M. II, which is identical with the genealogy T. II of *Ṭabarī*, closely resembles those in *Dīnawarī* and *al-Bīrūnī*, the three having in common the name (?) *Mihrmas(h)*, *Mihrīs* as one of the ancestors of *Ardashīr*. The name occurs as *میهرنوش* (*Mihrnōsh*) in the *Shāhnāme* and *Mihrtrīsh* in the *Bundahishn*. The other genealogy in *Mas'ūdī* is remarkable for its inclusion of *Dārā* and for its placing him as son and not as father of *Sāsān I* as in the *Shāhnāme*, and has in common with the genealogy T. II of *Ṭabarī* and with the *Bundahishn* the name *بهافرید*. Both M. I and M. II have *Bābak* as father of *Ardashīr*, not *Sāsān* as in the *Shāhnāme* and elsewhere.

D	M. I	M. II (=T. I, IA)	T. II	al-B.	Sh.
اسفندیار	اسفندیار	اسفندیار	اسفندیار	اسفندیار	اسفندیار
بهمن	بهمن	بهمن	بهمن	بهمن	بهمن
ساسان	ساسان	ساسان	ساسان	ساسان	همای
مهرنوش	دارا	مهرنوش	—	مهرنوش	{ داراب دارا
—	بهاوند	بابک	بهافرید	بهافرید	ساسان
—	ساسان	ساسان	زرار	ساسان	ساسان
فاغک	بابک	بابک	بابک	بابک	ساسان
ساسان	ساسان	ساسان	ساسان	ساسان	ساسان
بابک	بابک	بابک	بابک	بابک	ساسان
اردشیر	اردشیر	اردشیر	اردشیر	اردشیر	اردشیر

D= Dīnawarī, ed. Guirgass, p. 44.

M= Mas'ūdī, مروج الذهب ed. Barbier de Meynard, II, p. 151.

T= Ṭabarī, *Annales*, ed. de Goeje, etc. Sec. I. (2) p. 813; IA= Ibn al-Athīr, *Chronicon*, ed. Tornberg, I, p. 272.

al-B.= al-Bīrūnī, *Chronology*, ed. Sachau p. 120.

Sh.= *Shāhnāme* of Firdōsī.

AL-MAS'ŪDĪ AND CONTEMPORARY SCIENCE

BY

A. RAHMAN

The Millenary of al-Mas'ūdī is being celebrated at a time when man is at the threshold of a new adventure into the outer space. Al-Mas'ūdī was a traveller of zest, and had he been alive to-day, he would have certainly been delighted at the possibility of this new adventure as well as the opportunity of the new vistas of knowledge this has opened. The adventure into outer space has come, as if to pay a tribute to the spirit of great travellers, amongst whom al-Mas'ūdī was certainly one of the greatest.

In trying to pay our homage to the spirit of free thinking that al-Mas'ūdī displayed, we have made an effort to evaluate his contribution in the context of the limitation and character of science of his period.

Modern science has developed fairly well-defined and rigorous standards for arriving at the basic data, sifting and analysing it, and evolving a conceptual frame work. These standards and methods have obscured two features: firstly, the impact of subjective and social features on the scientific outlook, and secondly, the tortuous paths by the scientific tradition in arriving at them. It is worth while to remember the above two features in order to understand and appreciate the limitations of science of a particular period of human history as compared to our own and also to know the pattern it has weaved in a particular epoch.

The most important feature of the intellectual outlook in the days of al-Mas'ūdī was the dominance of religion. It pervaded all aspects of life: social action, intellectual beliefs, the quest for new knowledge and the improving of social life. It is difficult to understand and appreciate in full the impact of this belief, but suffice it to say that it worked as a brake to every new effort whether intellectual or social. God represented an all-knowing and all-powerful force: consequently, what could not be known or conquered was the will of god, and what could be known or controlled was also his will. In other words he was the repository of all mystery and knowledge. Besides this check in the mental outlook powerful religious sects also acted as brakes to any

new and intellectually stimulating idea which was not in conformity with the orthodox opinion or was not in the interest of those sects. Consequently, much of the scientific effort, limited as it was, was reduced to justifying ways of god to men.

The technique of discovery itself was in a primitive stage in so far as it was limited to the mere observation of phenomena and its interpretation according to the then established philosophical outlook. What was observed by a person could not be checked by another as neither the conditions of observation were standardized nor the power of observation enhanced. Consequently, a few facts and many spurious observations, which represented hearsay were included in the main body of knowledge. The association of scientific data with the spurious material rendered fruitless any efforts at systematization of knowledge and development of a proper scientific outlook. The only way out of this dilemma lay in the development of the technique of experimentation, and unless that developed and came into its own, there did not seem any way out. There seems to have been only one tradition in the Islamic world that understood this, namely, that of the *Ṣūfīs*. In *Jābir ibn Ḥayyān* we find an experimental approach to things, with the emphasis on exact quantities necessary to bring about a change. *Jābir* assumes a well defined order in the material world which could be understood through *experimental analysis*, which seeks to give knowledge about quantities and balance of quantities in nature. Further, this knowledge could be utilized and developed in order to give man new products and medicinal preparations. However, in spite of his experimental approach *Jābir* had to rely on the philosophical outlook of his period to explain the new substances he had manufactured and the methods and procedure he had followed. It was this developed and refined rationalism which soon crushed the new technique, which had not yet accumulated sufficient data to arrive at any generalizations of its own. Besides *Jābir's* experimental researches in chemistry, we find in the *Epistles of the Brethren of Purity* a similar approach. They recognized the essential nature of manual operations in the acquisition of knowledge, and hence worked with their hands in order to gather bits and pieces of knowledge and tried to develop a generalized concept of phenomena, to which they recognized the existence of mysteries *i.e.* phenomena which could not be understood through reason alone. A recognition of mystery, emphasis on manual operations and a disregard for over rationalized philosophical outlook did lay a basis to overcome the more logical approach to the study of phenomena, but it did not seem strong enough to withstand the onslaught of the rationalists. In consequence we find a reliance on classical authors, rather than the emphasis

on experimentation. Reliance on classical authors meant going back to the highly rationalised and systematized philosophies of the Greeks. This tendency not only limited the scope of independent observation and experimentation but also deprived the science of the Islamic period of its catholicity. The sources and fountains of knowledge in the Arab world were numerous: Egypt, Babylonia, Greece, Persia, India, China, in fact the whole civilised world, and it drew upon the diverse traditions of Confucianism, Buddhism, Zoroastrianism, Hinduism, etc. irrespective of the religious nature of the belief of the people it came into contact with. It was this multiplicity which gave science of the Islamic era its vigour and sweep. Its reliance, however, on Greek masters and their systematized outlook deprived it of its many-sidedness and soon was to reduce it to being a mere commentary on Greek philosophers.

With regard to the relation of technology with science hardly any thing is known. The traditions of the craftsmen were well developed, many new practices were established, new processes were utilized in the manufacture of things. Jābir's chemical researches, for instance, reveal the fact that they were related to and connected with the trades of the time, but we hardly know anything about the effect these had on the philosophical thought of the period. The major contributions of the period were largely in the field of geography, astronomy, mathematics and medicine, which have little direct bearing with the technological activities of the period.

Let us now look more closely at al-Mas'ūdī's contribution in the light of the survey of science that we have made above.

Al-Mas'ūdī's work falls into three categories:

- (i) Accounts of travel and the geographical knowledge that goes with it.
- (ii) Description of scientific phenomena.
- (iii) Philosophical ideas.

Travelogues consist of *marvels literature*. The exact role of the *marvels literature* has not yet been evaluated; it consisted of facts as well as fantasy. It was produced for popular consumption and contained the knowledge about the then known world and the people, and must have excited interest and curiosity in the people not only to read but also to visit the far-off lands. *Akhbār al-Zamān*'s loss in this respect is certainly very great, for it must have contained considerable knowledge about the places al-Mas'ūdī visited.

We would not discuss all-Mas'ūdī geographical contribution as they are discussed at length by other participants of the celebrations.

In al-Mas'ūdī's works we find descriptions of a number of things which are of scientific value such as the description of the earthquake of 955 or the wind mills of Sijistān. The description of the wind mills is interesting and important as these represented one of the early attempts of man to use sources of energy other than those of the muscle power, for doing his work. The origin of the wind mills is obscure. According to Sarton, "It would seem that wind mills were invented by Muslims or some other Eastern people. An anecdote relating to caliph 'Umar (A.D. 644) would suggest that wind mills were already known in Arabia in the first half of the seventh century (?)."¹

General ideas and the synthesis of the data known in his time has been described by al-Mas'ūdī in his book *al-Tanbīh wa'l-Ishrāf*, an interesting feature of which is the hint it contains about evolution: from mineral to plant, plant to animal and from animal to man. We cannot however attach much significance to such a statement as it could also be arrived at by a mere logical analysis, and the idea of ladders of life has been quite common since Aristotle.

The most significant of his extant works is the historico-geographical encyclopædia entitled *Murūj al-Dhahab wa Ma'ādin al-Jauhar*, which has been translated into English as "*Meadows of Gold and Mines of Precious Stones*." According to Sarton, however, "The translation of *Murūj* by 'Meadows' does not seem to fit the sense or the parallelism.

It has been suggested that it means "*washings*" in the mining sense".² If this is so, then this analogy is more suggestive of the relation between technology and science of the period. It cannot, however, be suggested on such grounds that the knowledge of the period had technological bearings. This is a point which needs further research before any definite conclusion could be reached. The task is difficult because the general climate of opinion of the period had no connections whatsoever with the technique of the period; and of the techniques themselves very little is known. If we look to the history of Science we find that scientific knowledge and technological practices have helped each other. It is quite possible that al-Mas'ūdī in his association

1 George Sarton, *Introduction to the History of Science*, Vol. I., p. 638.

2 *Ibid.*

with various groups of people during his travels might have acquired a respect for technical trades which is reflected in the title of his book, if Sarton's interpretation is to be taken as correct. Any other evidence of this however, is not available.

Al-Mas'ūdī lived at a time when the free-thinkers were fighting a losing battle against the more orthodox religious groups, but his own outlook and method of approach to gain knowledge is very clear though limited. As we have said earlier, the technique of experimentation could not be developed during the Islamic period and this represents the chief weakness of al-Mas'ūdī also. He relies mainly on observation, the technique of which is also not very refined nor standardized to help develop a cumulative approach.

Doubt, the basis of scientific enquiry, was there in plenty in al-Mas'ūdī, which led him to examine critically the observations and generalizations of the classical authors. He criticizes his contemporaries for following the ancients blindly and asserts, that "it is the people of 'insight and meditation' who are worthy to be followed, since they give everything its proper due and do not glorify the ancients if they are defective..."¹ Appeal to authority in his days, when the technique of observation and experimentation was not developed, must have been a stumbling block in the progress of knowledge. Any new fact could easily have been brushed aside on the authority of the ancients. Al-Mas'ūdī has expressed himself unequivocally on many an occasion: he criticises, for instance, the neglect of astronomy in preference to astrology: "We find most of the astronomers of our age confining themselves to the study of astrology. They take no interest in research on astronomy."² The controversy of studying the phenomena or relying on the ancients which is reflected in al-Mas'ūdī is of significance from the point of the struggle to overthrow the dead weight of 'authority' which again and again, as is evident from the history of science, blocked the further progress of a scientific outlook. As against the work of the authorities the work of contemporaries, according to him, has a greater value as "... often a later-day writer, because of his great accumulation of experience, and of his wariness of an uncritical imitation of his predecessors, and of his cautions against pitfalls, is better in his documentation and more thorough in his authorship. Again, since he discovers new things not known to former generations, the sciences steadily progress to unknown limits and ends."³

1 S. Maqbul Ahmad, "Al-Mas'ūdī's Contribution to Medieval Arab Geography," *Islamic Culture*, vol. 27, No. 2, 1953, p. 63.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 72.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 63.

Doubts and critical attitude cannot take a scientist very far unless it is supported by technique of experimentation, and there is a complete absence of it in al-Mas'ūdī. He relies mainly on observations, and where he could confirm or reject the observation of the ancients he does so, but in regard to the general outlook or in spheres where direct observation is not possible he relies mainly on Greeks. According to Dr. Maqbul Ahmad the influence of Greek Philosophy is especially marked in his physical geography. "Greek influence is most apparent in his ideas on cosmology, meteorology and physical geography. On the whole he gives preference to Greek ideas over others."¹

The weakness of al-Mas'ūdī is the weakness of the science of the pre-industrial revolution, viz., the lack of development of a tradition of experimentation. The tradition itself could not be developed as technology was not developed fully, and was divorced from philosophy due to social prejudices and hence could not be utilized in developing observation and experimentation. And al-Mas'ūdī could not go far in spite of his critical outlook, zeal for knowledge, curiosity and encyclopædic knowledge. The question really, before any scientist or science as a whole, as has been pointed out by Needham, was either to "set up a ratiocination of their own consisting of obvious inadequate theories or rest in the simple thesis that 'there are more things in heaven and earth, Horatio, than are dreamt of in your philosophy'. Only prolonged experimentation and hypothesis can escape from this situation."² This however could not be both due to the relative divorce of technology from scientific thinking as well as the onslaught of the orthodoxy, which reduced the field of observation and experimentation to merely that of logical deduction from a basic premise. God was regarded as the main moving force of the universe, omnipotent and omnipresent, and, consequently, all the observable phenomena was reduced to the will of god or his manifestations. This debate shifted the whole emphasis from the study of phenomena to a controversy on a mere logical plane. It was only with the industrial and scientific revolution in the seventeenth century that the controversy could be set aside and the nature of scientific explanations in terms of processes and mechanism, which man could control and direct, was accepted, and the foundation for the future progress of science laid.

1 "Al-Mas'ūdī's Contributions to Medieval Arab Geography," *Islamic Culture*, vol. 28, No. 1, 1954, pp. 275-276.

2 Joseph Needham, *Science and Civilization in China*, Vol. I., p. 95.

IBN KHALDŪN AND AL-MAS'ŪDĪ

BY

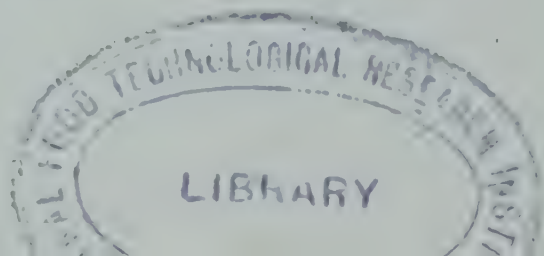
WALTER J. FISCHEL

The great legacy which Ibn Khaldūn had bequeathed to us consists of the seven volumes of his *Ibar*,¹ of which the first volume is his famous *Muqaddimah*, of his *Ta'rif*,² or *Autobiography* and some other smaller works which have but recently become known such as his *Lubāb al-Muḥaṣṣal fī uṣūl ad-Dīn*³ and his *Shifā' as-Sā'il*.⁴

The revival of an interest in this legacy, in the West as well as in the East, has manifested itself very recently in new translations of his *Muqaddimah* into English,⁵ and into Persian⁶ and in the publication of a number of anthologies in many languages,⁷ and even in a reprinting (but unfortunately not an editing) of the Būlāq edition of his *Ibar*.⁸

Ibn Khaldūn's contributions to Islamic and general historiography which he had made through his *Muqaddimah*, have been expounded

- 1 *Kitāb al-Ibar wa-dawān al-mubtada' wa'l-khābir*, Būlāq, 1284 (1867/68), 7 vols.
- 2 *Al-Ta'rif bi-Ibn Khaldūn wa-shihātuhū Ghaybān wa-sharḥan*; ed. Muhammad b. Tāwīt at-Tanjī, Cairo 1370 (1951). See also the present writer's work *Ibn Khaldūn and Timurlane: Their historic meeting in Damascus 1401*, Berkeley 1952 and the Persian translation of this work by Sa'īd Nafīsī, Tehran 1957.
- 3 Ed. and tr. Fr. Luciano Rubio, Tetuan, 1952.
- 4 Ed. by M. b. Tāwīt at-Tanjī, Istanbul 1958; see also I. A. Khalīf: "Un nouveau traité mystique d'Ibn Haldūn" in *Acts of the 24th International Orientalists' Congress in München, Wiesbaden 1959*, pp. 330 ff.
- 5 *The Muqaddimah: An Introduction to History*, New York (Bollingen Series XLIII), London 1958, 3 vols.
- 6 Persian translation by M. P. Gunābādī, 2 vols., Tehran 1956 ff. see also Findikoglu, Ziyaeddin Fahri. "Türkçe'de İbn Haldunizm" in *Faah Köprülü Armanı*, Istanbul, 1953, pp. 153-63.
- 7 See among others Charles Issawi: *An Arab Philosophy of History: Selections from the Prolegomena of Ibn Khaldūn of Tunis (1332-1406)*, The Wisdom of the East Series, London 1950; A. Schümmel, *Ibn Chaldun: Ausgewählte Abschnitte aus der muqaddima*, Aus dem arabischen, Tübingen, 1951; G. Surdon, and L. Bercher, *Recueil de textes de sociologie et de droit public musulman contenus dans les "Prolegomènes," d'Ibn Khaldoun*, Bibliothèque de l'Institut d'Etudes supérieures d'Alger, 6, Algiers, 1951.
- 8 *Tārīkh al-Allama Ibn Khaldūn*, Beirut, Vols. I, II 1956 ff. publ. by Joseph A. Dagher.



from the very day of his "European discovery,"¹ and are again being made the topic of research.²

Despite this revived interest in Ibn Khaldūn it must be stated that the most elementary aspect with which one actually should have started the study of Ibn Khaldūn's work as a historian has been astonishingly neglected until now, namely the investigation of the sources he had used for his great "History."

Ibn Khaldūn was not only a philosopher of history, he was a historian, who like any other Muslim or Western historian, was dependent on the records of the past, on the authorities which preceded him. One cannot evaluate and appraise Ibn Khaldūn as a historian and place him properly in the annals of Islamic and general historiography until and unless a thorough critical study has been made of the methods and ways in which he has made use of all those sources he had quoted and utilized, not only in his "*Prolegomena*," but in the totality of his historical writings.

The neglect of so elementary and primary a task is the more astonishing since Ibn Khaldūn is one of the few Muslim historians who has been most conscientious in mentioning, very scrupulously indeed, the authorities and sources from which he drew, and whose writings abound in countless quotations from and references to many sources of the past.

This oversight might be due to the generally held but erroneous view that Ibn Khaldūn had no precursors in regard to his socio-philosophical ideas and that his major source was his own experiences and the reflection on them and the abstraction of his acquaintance with the contemporary scene of the Arab and Berber Dynasties. Even if this were so, though it is not tenable, it could be applied with a certain degree of justification only to his "*Prolegomena*."

It is indeed one of the pressing tasks for a real understanding of

1 See the survey in N. Schmidt: *Ibn Khaldūn: Historian, Sociologist and Philosopher*, New York 1930 and the respective items in my "Selected Bibliography of Ibn Khaldūn" incorporated in Franz Rosenthal's English translation 1958, Vol. III, pp. 485-512.

2 See among others Sāṭi' al-Huṣarī: *Dirāsah 'an Muqaddimat Ibn Khaldūn*, Beirut, 1943-44, 2 Vols.; E. J. Rosenthal: *Political Thought in Medieval Islam. An Introductory Outline*, Cambridge, 1958; and foremost, Muhsin Mahdi: *Ibn Khaldun's Philosophy of History. A Study in the Philosophic Foundation of the Science of Culture*, London 1957.

Ibn Khaldūn as a historian to start with a new methodological approach and to investigate the historical, biographical and geographical works used by him and expressly quoted (not to speak of the sources on *Hadīth*, *Fiqh*, Theology, and Sciences).

It is imperative not only to know *whom* he had used and to enumerate statistically all the authors and titles of books to which he made reference, but also *how* he had used his sources, and to show the relationship of Ibn Khaldūn to each of the major historical sources of the past. Such an investigation calls for monographic treatments of each and every important historical source on which Ibn Khaldūn relied.¹ How fruitful such an approach can be has been demonstrated already in a few instances, namely, in regard to the Christian historian Horosius (5th century)² and the usage made by Ibn Khaldūn of him, in regard to the Jewish chronicler, Yusuf ben Kuriūn, or Yosippon,³ and in regard to some of the Muslim sources used by Ibn Khaldūn for his history of the Mongols and Tatars.⁴

II

As a further contribution to such a critical investigation of a methodological nature the present study intends to deal with al-Mas'ūdī and to draw attention to the close relationship between Ibn Khaldūn and al-Mas'ūdī.

It is superfluous to outline here in detail the life and works of⁵ al-Mas'ūdī. It is sufficient to say that al-Mas'ūdī was a geographer, a world traveller, a globe trotter who visited almost the whole of Asia

1 This would include such Muslim historians as al-Tabarī, Bayhaqī, Ibn al-Athīr, Abu'l-Fiḍā' and Christian historians such as Ibn al-Arīd, Ibn ar-Rāhib, Eutychius, etc.

2 G. Levi della Vida: *La traduzione araba delle Storie di Orosio* in *Miscellanea Giovanni Galbati*. Fontes ambrosiani, 25-27. Milan 1951. Vol. III, pp. 185-203; also "al-Andalus" (Madrid and Granada), XIX, 1954, pp. 257-93, with corrections and additions.

3 Walter J. Fischel, *Ibn Khaldun and Josippon* in *Homenaje a Millas-Vallherosa*, Barcelona, 1954-1956, Vol. I, pp. 587-98 and by the same author, *Ibn Khaldun's use of Jewish and Christian sources* in the Proceedings of the 23rd International Congress of Orientalists, Cambridge 1954, pp. 332-333.

4 Walter J. Fischel, *Ibn Khaldun's Sources for the History of Jenghis Khān and the Tatars*, in *Journal of the American Oriental Society* (Baltimore), LXXVI, 1956, pp. 91-99.

5 See C. Brockelmann, *G.A.L.* I, pp. 150-152 and Suppl. I, pp. 220-221; G. Sarton, *Introduction to the History of Science*, Baltimore, 1927 ff. Vol. I, pp. 637-639.

including India and all the lands of the Near and Middle East, and finally settled down in Fustāt, in Egypt, where he died in 956. He was a prolific writer whose works included treatises on history, geography, cosmology, meteorology, astronomy, Islamic law and lore. As a philosopher and historian he achieved great competence and he is rightly regarded as one of the most versatile authors of the 10th century.

What is the peculiar position of al-Mas'ūdī in Ibn Khaldūn's thoughts and writings ?

A. First of all, it ought to be stated that Ibn Khaldūn quoted from al-Mas'ūdī more often than from any other Muslim historian of the past (with the exception perhaps of al-Ṭabarī) and that there is throughout the thousands of pages of Ibn Khaldūn's *Ibar* no other historical source to which he has given so much attention as he has to al-Mas'ūdī.

Ibn Khaldūn quotes al-Mas'ūdī in the *Muqaddimah* and all the other parts of his *Ibar*, hundreds of times, but of all the works of al-Mas'ūdī, Ibn Khaldūn used mostly *Murūj al-Dhahab* and, though not expressly indicated, the *Tanbīh*. Al-Mas'ūdī's other works, his history entitled *Akhbār al-Zamān*, and the *Kitāb al-Awsaṭ*, and other writings remained apparently unknown to Ibn Khaldūn as they were unknown to most of the earlier generations of historians and have remained so even until to-day. Ibn Khaldūn introduces al-Mas'ūdī's *Murūj* in different ways; he explicitly refers to the *Murūj* in such forms as "fī kitāb *Murūj*," or "fī *Murūj*" or in more general terms such as "*Kalām al-Mas'ūdī*," "*Tartīb al-Mas'ūdī*" or just "*qāla*," "*dhakara*," "*za'ama*" "*naqala*" al-Mas'ūdī, etc.¹

Quite often Ibn Khaldūn quotes Mas'ūdī jointly with other Muslim historians, and compares their various statements pertaining to a given problem, showing either the general agreement or discrepancies of views. The historians who are thus coupled with Mas'ūdī are mainly al-Wāqidī, Ṭabarī, Bayhaqī, Jurjānī, Abu'l-Fidā, Suhaylī, and others;² and of geographers he puts al-Mas'ūdī together with al-Bakrī, al-Idrīsī, Ibn Hauqal and Ibn Khurradādhbih.³

1 See *Ibar* Vol. II, *passim*, but also in the other volumes.

2 For the sake of convenience reference is here being made both to the Quatremère text of the *Muqaddima* and the English translation by F. Rosenthal; see *Muqaddima*, ed. Quatremère I, 26; F. Rosenthal, transl. I, 36.

3 Quatremère Vol. I, pp. 13-14; Vol. I, p. 93; F. Rosenthal, tr. Vol. I, pp. 22, 116.

B. The special treatment of al-Mas'ūdī by Ibn Khaldūn is expressed not only in the frequency of quotations from him. Despite the frequent usage Ibn Khaldūn has made of al-Mas'ūdī, Ibn Khaldūn did not blindly copy him. He was extremely critical of some of his statements and pointed out certain weaknesses in al-Mas'ūdī's work. He paid special attention to a number of errors in facts and faults in al-Mas'ūdī's method and approach, and tried to rectify them wherever he deemed it fit. His objections and criticism of al-Mas'ūdī pertain to the latter's views on the influence of climate on the emotionalism and excitability in Negroes and Ibn Khaldūn regards the reasons given by al-Mas'ūdī as "inconclusive and unproven."¹ He criticised al-Mas'ūdī for having incorporated stories and fables which have no basis in fact, such as the statue of the Starling in Rome, or the story about sea-monsters which have supposedly prevented Alexander from building Alexandria, or the story about the copper city in the desert of Sijilmāsa, all of which Ibn Khaldūn labelled as "absurd."² He took him to task for his views about the attainment of supernatural knowledge by stating, "he did not hit upon right explanation. It is evident from his discussion that he was not firmly grounded in the various kinds of (pertinent) knowledge. He merely reports what he learned from people experienced in the subject, and from others."³

He also finds fault with al-Mas'ūdī's statements concerning the Himyarite kings and the Yemenite rulers and regrets al-Mas'ūdī's complete lack of knowledge of the history of the Berbers.⁴ In one passage he states: "It is well known that the works of al-Mas'ūdī and Wāqidī are suspect and objectionable in certain respects."⁵ Ibn Khaldūn uses, in his criticism of al-Mas'ūdī, sometimes rather strong words. He regards certain information supplied by al-Mas'ūdī and other historians as "remote from the truth," "rooted in baseless assumptions," and "more like the fiction of story-tellers."⁶

Very detailed is Ibn Khaldūn's criticism of al-Mas'ūdī's statement in regard to the number of Israelites who left Egypt with the Exodus. He charges al-Mas'ūdī and other historians with having uncritically accepted the Biblical story that Moses counted the army of the Israelites in the desert and that all those able to carry arms, especially those twenty

- 1 Quatremère Vol. I, p. 157; F. Rosenthal Vol. I, pp. 175-176.
- 2 Quatremère Vol. I, pp. 58-60; F. Rosenthal Vol. I, pp. 73-75.
- 3 Quatremère Vol. I, p. 196; F. Rosenthal Vol. I, p. 219.
- 4 Quatremère Vol. I, pp. 52-53; F. Rosenthal Vol. I, p. 65.
- 5 Quatremère Vol. I, p. 3; F. Rosenthal Vol. I, p. 8.
- 6 Quatremère Vol. I, p. 14; F. Rosenthal Vol. I, p. 23.

years and older, turned out to be 600,000 or more.¹ In this connection (al-Mas'ūdī) forgets—so he stated—to take into consideration whether Egypt and Syria could possibly have held such a number of soldiers. Every realm may have as large a militia as it can hold and support, but no more. This fact is attested by well-known customs and familiar conditions. Moreover, an army of this size cannot march or fight as a unit. The whole available territory would be too small for it. If it were in battle formation, it would extend two, three, or more times beyond the field of vision. ...²

III

But Ibn Khaldūn did not use al-Mas'ūdī so frequently in order to make him a target of his criticism, although this in itself indicated Ibn Khaldūn's special attention to al-Mas'ūdī. With all that Ibn Khaldūn expressed a *positive* attitude and speaks in the highest terms of his esteem and praise for al-Mas'ūdī. Despite the great variety of the historical sources which Ibn Khaldūn acknowledged to have used, it is only in regard to al-Mas'ūdī that Ibn Khaldūn expresses a personal judgement and evaluation.

How does Ibn Khaldūn express his admiration for al-Mas'ūdī? Let us mention only a few statements:

Ibn Khaldūn regarded al-Mas'ūdī “as one of the few historians who can almost be counted on the fingers of the hands,” “who have become so well-known as to be recognized as authorities and have replaced the products of their predecessors by their own works,” “who belong to those who are distinct from the general run of historians” and “whose works have been distinguished by universal acceptance of the information they contain and by adoption of their methods and their material.”³

Why was Ibn Khaldūn so personal in the case of al-Mas'ūdī and expressed his special admiration and praise for him? Why did al-Mas'ūdī occupy a privileged position in the eyes of Ibn Khaldūn? Was there any special historiographical quality in al-Mas'ūdī which attracted Ibn Khaldūn? There must have been a deep reason.

1 Quatremère Vol. I, pp. 9-11; F. Rosenthal Vol. I, pp. 16-18.

2 For further details see W. J. Fischel “Ibn Khaldūn: On the Bible, Judaism, and Jews” in Ignace Goldziher Memorial Volume, Jerusalem 1956, Vol. II, pp. 147-71.

3 Quatremère Vol. I, pp. 3-4, 51-53; F. Rosenthal Vol. I, pp. 7-8, 63-65.

Ibn Khaldūn's attitude could have hardly been an expression of pure gratitude and acknowledgement of his debt to al-Mas'ūdī for so many factual information and details for which al-Mas'ūdī served him as a guide and an authority. After all, Horosius, al-Ṭabarī, Ibn al-Athīr, Ibn al-'Amīd and many others supplied him in a similar way, with abundant material to verify and identify events and genealogies of personalities of Islamic and non-Islamic history.

A satisfactory answer can be found only when we investigate the major topics and subject-matters for the clarification of which Ibn Khaldūn had used al-Mas'ūdī's work.

An analysis of all the references to al-Mas'ūdī in Ibn Khaldūn's writings leads us to the conclusion that of the two major areas of historical relevance, namely (a) the Islamic history and (b) the non-Islamic history, Ibn Khaldūn had used al-Mas'ūdī mainly, though not exclusively, for the aspects of the non-Islamic history. We recognize that a very considerable amount of the material derived from al-Mas'ūdī centres round events, people, movements and rulers of the non-Islamic and pre-Islamic world, the early Persian history, the Roman Caesars, the Ptolemaic Kings of Egypt, the Byzantines, the Babylonians, the Nabateans, the Copts, etc. Of unusual frequency in Ibn Khaldūn's *Ṭabar* are quotations from al-Mas'ūdī pertaining to various aspects of the non-Islamic religions, covering a great variety of data pertaining to Zoroastrianism, Avesta, Mazdak, Mani, to the biblical history of Israel and Moses, the Exodus and the later developments of Jewish history, to Christianity and other religious manifestations, movements and institutions.

The high esteem for al-Mas'ūdī seemed to lie in the fact that al-Mas'ūdī supplied Ibn Khaldūn not only with details, but impressed him, in addition to such details, with a new fundamental approach to history, with a new program, a new method and outlook which influenced Ibn Khaldūn in the formulation of his own concepts of history and which served him as a source of inspiration. He lauded al-Mas'ūdī's *Murūj al-Dhahab* because its author commented upon the conditions of nations and regions in the West and in the East during his period (which was) the three hundred and thirties (the nine hundred and forties). He mentioned their sects and customs. He described the various countries, mountains, oceans, provinces and dynasties. He distinguished between *Arabic and non-Arabic groups*. His book, thus became the basic reference work for historians, their principal source for verifying historical information.¹

1 Quatremère Vol. I, pp. 51-52; F. Rosenthal Vol. I, pp. 63-64; R. Nicholson

It thus becomes evident that the treatment of non-Islamic religions as expounded by al-Mas'ūdī must have had a special appeal to Ibn Khaldūn. Indeed, Ibn Khaldūn credited al-Mas'ūdī expressly with the fact that he and historians of his type “gave an exhaustive history of pre-Islamic dynasties and nations, and of other pre-Islamic affairs in general.”¹

It was also al-Mas'ūdī's universalistic outlook and orientation, his open-mindedness, his wide range of topics, his treatment of non-Islamic religions, the fact that he dealt with the phenomena of history beyond the confines of Islam, that he encompassed the history of the Greeks, the Romans, the Persians and the Jews, and that he was so keen an observer of cultural, geographical, ethnological, climatic and other conditions—all of which had a special appeal to him.²

Although Ibn Khaldūn intended originally to restrict himself to the history of the *Maghrib*, he had changed the aim and scope of his historiographical approach during his stay in Egypt and devoted many years to the study of the history of the non-Islamic and pre-Islamic civilizations. For this Ibn Khaldūn was so stimulated by al-Mas'ūdī that he even made the following programmatic announcement at the beginning of his *Prolegomena*: “There is need at this time that someone should systematically set down the situation of the world among all regions and races, as well as the customs and sectarian beliefs that have changed for their adherents, doing for this age what al-Mas'ūdī did for his. This should be a model for future historians to follow.”³

That Ibn Khaldūn emerged out of this pre-occupation with the non-Islamic civilization as a competent historian of comparative religion—and this during his stay in Egypt—is largely due to the stimulation that Ibn Khaldūn received through al-Mas'ūdī who apparently opened

(*Literary History of the Arabs*, Cambridge 1930, p. 353) has touched on the relationship between Ibn Khaldūn and al-Mas'ūdī but regarded it only “as a coincidence” that Ibn Khaldūn called al-Mas'ūdī “*imāman li 'l-mu'arrikhān*” (an Imām for all the historians.) It is not at all a coincidence, as we now realize.

1 Quatremère Vol. I, p. 4; F. Rosenthal Vol. I, p. 8.

2 See M. Mahdi: *Ibn Khaldūn's Philosophy of History*. He has made very pertinent and profound observations on the relationship between Ibn Khaldūn and al-Mas'ūdī, pp. 152 ff., 164 ff. and 255 ff.; see also G. E. von Grunebaum, *Medieval Islam*, Chicago 1946, pp. 339-340, Note.

3 Quatremère Vol. I, pp. 52-53; F. Rosenthal Vol. I, p. 65.

for him that window to the non-Islamic and pre-Islamic world in which he made so important a contribution of his own.¹

It seems that here lies the major bond of affinity between these two historians, al-Mas'ūdī and Ibn Khaldūn and al-Mas'ūdī can rightly be credited with having been instrumental in influencing to a large degree Ibn Khaldūn's basic concepts of the historical process.²

1 For further details see W. J. Fischel: *Ibn Khaldūn's Contribution to Comparative Religion* in *Acts of the 24th International Orientalists' Congress in München, Wiesbaden, 1959*, pp. 334-335.

2 A detailed documentation of Ibn Khaldūn's dependency on al-Mas'ūdī's writings will be offered in another context.

MAS'ŪDĪ ON ZARAOUŠTRA

BY

M. MO'IN

Name and Parentage:

Al-Mas'ūdī gives the genealogy in *Murūj al-Dhahab* thus:¹ “ZARĀDOŠT son of ESBĪMĀN;² and he is also narrated to be ZARĀDOSHT son of BORŠASF³ son of FAZRĀSAF⁴ son of ARIKDASAF⁵ son of HAJDASAF⁶ son of HAXĪS⁷ son of BĀTĪR⁸ son of ARHADAS son of HARDĀR⁹ son of ESHĪMĀN¹⁰ son of VĀNDAŠT¹¹ son of HĀYZAM¹² son of ARAJ¹³ son of DŪRSAR¹⁴ son of MANŪŠAHR,¹⁵ the king.

Here we will try and correct his genealogy on the basis of Avestic, Pahlavi and Pazand texts:

1. ZARĀDOŠT: We have this word in Persian and Arabic in the following forms:

Zardošt, Zartošt, Zardošt, Zarthošt, Zarahošt, Zārhošt, Zārhušt, Zārthošt, Zaradošt, Zarahošt, Zārdošt.

The Avestic form is *Zaraouštra*,¹⁶ and the two Pahlavi forms are *Zaratušt*¹⁷ and *Zartušt*.

There is difference of opinion on the etymology of this word. Bartholomæ¹⁸ considers it as having two parts: *Zarata* (Avestic, *Zarant*) meaning “old” (Old Indian *Jarant*; Eastern Ossetic, *Zāron*d); and *Ušira* meaning “camel”; thus altogether denoting “owner of old camel.”

- 1 Ed. and tr. by C. Barbier de Meynard and Pavet de Courteille, Paris, vol. II, pp. 123-24; *Murūj al-Dhahab*, ed. by Muḥammad Muḥy al-Dīn al-Hamīd, Part I, Cairo, 1938, pp. 193-94. (Hereafter “Cairo” stands for this text).
- 2 Cairo: *Estīmān*.
- 3 Cairo: *Būrsamt*.
- 4 Cairo: *Qīdārast*.
- 5 Cairo: *Arbakardašt*.
- 6 Cairo: *Hajand-Dast*.
- 7 Cairo: *Hajīs*.
- 8 Cairo: *Māmīr*.
- 9 Cairo: *Harzān*.
- 10 Cairo: *Estīmān*.
- 11 Cairo: *Dāndast*.
- 12 Cairo: *Hāyram*.
- 13 Cairo: *Arah*.
- 14 Cairo: *Dūsar*.
- 15 Cairo: *Manūjehr*.
- 16 Bartholomæ, *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*, 1670 ff.
- 17 Nyberg, *Hillsbuch des Pehlevi*, II, 254.
- 18 Bartholomæ, *op. cit.*, 1670.

It is translated by some authorities as "owner of yellow camel."¹

2. **FSBĪMĀN**: Being *Estīmān* in the Cairo edition, it is a mistransliteration of Pahlavi and Persian *Spītmān*, originally *Spentmān*, derived from Avestic *Spītāma*. The latter, which was the family-name of Zaratoustra,² apparently means "of white race" or "of white household." There is no doubt about the first part, *Spīta* (Avestic, *Spaeta*; Pahlavi, *Spet*; Persian, *Sepīd* or *Setīd*).³ Zaratōštyi Bahrām-i Pazdū, Zoroastrian poet of 7th century A.H., names Zaratoustra as "Zardošt of *Sepatmān*" in *Ardāvirāf Nāmāh*:

که او را نام زردشت سپتمان گزیده از همه خلقان و دامان
and also,

روان شد دین پاک مزدیسنان ز پیغمبر زراتشت سپتمان
The same is Arabicized in *Ṭabarī Chronicles*⁴ as *Esfīmān*.

3. **BŪRŠASF**: It is *Būrsant* in Cairo edition, *Būrsasf* in *Ṭabarī Chronicles*,⁵ *Būršasb* in *Milal wa 'l-Niḥal* of Shahrastānī,⁶ and *Būrsasb* in *Zayn al-Akhhār* of Gārdīzī.⁷ We have it in the form of *Pourušaspa* in Avesta and *Pārūšasp* in Pahlavi, being composed of two parts: "*Pārūš*" meaning "bi-coloured," "black and white" or "old"; and "*asp*" meaning "horse." So the whole word means "owner of bi-coloured (or old) horse."

Zaratošt-i Bahrām-i Pazdū says,

بگفتش همه راز با پورشاسب همان مژده بودند زی پترسب

4. **FADRĀSAF**: It is *Qīdarast* in Cairo edition of *Murūj*, *Farduāsaf* in *Ṭabarī Chronicles*,⁸ *Qahdārash* in *Zayn al-Akhhār*⁹ and *Patiragtarāsp* and *Paitarasp* in Pahlavi texts.

It is also quoted by Zaratošt-i Bahrām-i Pazdū.

1 *Gathas*, tr. by Pūr-i Dā'ūd, first edition, pp. 22-23. M. Mo'in, *Mazdayasnā wa Ta'gīr-i ān dar Adabiyāt-i Pūrsī*, 1326, pp. 62-63.

2 Bartholomae, *op. cit.*, 1624.

3 Pūr-i Dā'ūd, *op. cit.*, 22; Mo'in, *op. cit.*, 63-64.

4 Brill edition, II, 676 and 682 (*Saqmān*, *Asqamān*, *Saqimān*); *Chronicles* Cairo ed., Part I, 293.

5 *Ibid.*, Part 1, 295.

6 Leipzig ed., 185.

7 Photostat copy in Kitābkhāna-i Millī of Tehran, 8b.

8 Brill ed., II, 682 (*Davāsaf*, فردواسف *Fardvasaf*?).

9 *Op. cit.*

5. ARIKDĀSAF: It is *Arbakardašt* in Cairo edition and Ṭabarī *Chronicles*,¹ and *Urugadasp* and *Aurvadasp* in Pahlavi texts.

6. HAJANDASAF: The Cairo edition mentions it as *Hajanddast*, Ṭabarī *Chronicle*² as منجدسف *Manjdasaf* (?) and Pahlavi literature as Haēčtāsp.

7. HAXĪŠ: It is *Hajīs* in Cairo edition. *Ĵaxšanaš* in Ṭabarī *Chronicles*³ and *Cišxmuš* or *Kaxšmuš*.⁴

8. BĀTĪR: *Māmīr* in Cairo edition, فافل *Fiafōl*(?) in Ṭabarī *Chronicles*,⁵ *Paētrasp* or *Paitirasp* in Pahlavi literature.

9. ARHADAS: *Alhadī* in Ṭabarī *Chronicles*⁶ and *Arejadaršn* or *Hadaršn* in Pahlavi literature.⁷

10. HARDĀR: *Harzān* in Cairo edition, *Hardan* in Ṭabarī *Chronicles*,⁸ and *Hardar*⁹ or *Xaredār* in Pahlavi.

11. ESHĪMĀN: is already described.

12. VĀNDAŠT: *Dāndast* in Cairo edition, *Vidas* in Ṭabarī *Chronicles*,¹⁰ and *Vaedišt* or *Vidašt* in Pahlavi.¹¹

13. HĀYZAM: *Hāyram* in Cairo edition, *Adrā* in Ṭabarī *Chronicles*,¹² and *Nayāzem* or *Ayāzem* in Pahlavi.

14. ARJ: *Āraḥ* in Cairo edition, *Raj* in Ṭabarī,¹³ and *Airic*, *Rajan*¹⁴ or *Rajišn*¹⁵ in Pahlavi.

1 Brill ed.: انجد , انجد ; Cairo ed., Vol. I: اريجد .

2 Cairo ed.: *Manjdasaf*.

3 *Ibid.*, (Cairo: *Haxšanaš*).

4 *Bundahesn* (Čāšnuš); Ṭabarī *Chronicles*, Brill ed., I, II, 682.

5 Cairo ed.: فافل (*Fiafil*) (?).

6 *Ibid.* (انجدی , انجدی , الخدی).

7 *Bundahesn* (*Harsan*); Ṭabarī *Chronicles*, 682.

8 *Op. cit.*, 682.

9 *Bundahesn* (*Hardār*); Ṭabarī, 682.

10 *Ibid.*, 682. (اريدش , اوئدس , وئدس).

11 *Bundahesn* (*Vidašt*); Ṭabarī, 682 note.

12 *Ibid.*, 682 (لدر , ادر , ارزا , اذرا).

13 *Ibid.*, 682 (*Rāx*).

14 *Bundahesn* (*Rajan*); Ṭabarī, 682 note.

15 *Vacarkant-i Dīnīk*.

15. DŪRŠĀR: *Dūsar* in Cairo edition, *Nūrasrow* in Tabarī,¹ and *Dūrasrōb*² or *Dūrās-rōb*³ in Pahlavi.

16. MANUŠAHR: *Manujahr* in Cairo edition, *Manušahr* in Tabarī,⁴ *Mānūšcihar* in Pahlavi, and *Manuš-ci-ra*⁵ in Avesta. Name of a legendary king of Pišdadiyan dynasty.

The Contemporary King:

Mas'ūdī writes in *al-Tanbih*⁶:

”و کیشتاب مائة سنة و عشرين سنة ايضا و ثلاثين سنة خلت
من مکه اتاه زرادشت ...“

He also writes in *Murūj*⁷:

”ثم ملک بعده (ای بعد مهراصب) ابنه یستاف و کان منزله بلغ و
لثلاثين سنة خلت من ملکه اتاه زرادشت بن اسیمان ..“

The king who supported Zaratoustra is called *Vīštāspa* (owner of worn-out horse)⁸ in Avestic and old Persian. Regarding the identity of this king with *Vīštāspa*, Darius' father (521-486 B.C.), different opinions have been expressed.⁹

Origin of Zaratoustra:

In *Murūj*¹⁰ we find:

وکان من اهل الوریجان. This is confirmed by Zoroastrian traditions and by most of Iranian and Arab historians including Ibn Khurradādhbih, Balādhurī, Ibn al-Faqīh, Hamzah of Isfahān, Yāqūt, Qazvīnī and Abū'l-Fidā'. Some place in Azarbaijān, and particularly Urmīyah, is believed by these to be his place of origin.

1 *Op. cit.*, 682 (حوراسر).

2 *Bundaheshn* (*Dūrasrow*, *Durasron*); Tabarī, *op. cit.*

3 *Vacankant-i-Dīnik*.

4 *Ibid.*, 683.

5 *Justi, Iran-Namenbuch*, 191-3.

6 Brill ed., 1893, 90, cf. ed. 'Abd Allāh Ismā'īl al-Sā'atī, Bagdad, 1938, 79.

7 Paris ed., Vol. II, 123. The Cairo edition, 193, reads:

”ثم ملک بعده زرادشت بن اسیمان ...“

8 Bartholomae, *op. cit.*, 1474.

9 Herzfeld, *Zoroaster and his world*, I, 203; Henning *Zoroaster*, 5 ff. and 24 ff.; Mu'in, *op. cit.*, 75-77.

10 Brill ed., 124; Cairo ed., 194.

But Ṭabarī and his followers such as Ibn al-Athīr and Mīrkhawnd have suggested that Zāraouštra was a native of Palestine, wherefrom he migrated to Azarbaijān.

The matter, however, is not clear. Christensen says, "The question of the home of Zāraouštra has been sufficiently discussed, but with no results... There are three hypotheses on this point: The hypothesis of the people who consider him as a native of Western Iran; that of those who make mention of Eastern Iran in this respect; and finally that of the people who state that he was born in Western Iran but travelled and spread his doctrine in Eastern Iran."¹

He is considered as a native of Rāga (Ray) by Herzfeld,² and of North-Eastern parts of Iran by other authorities.³

Zāraouštra's Book:

Mas'ūdī writes in *Murūj*⁴:

"و هو نبي المجوس الذي اتاهم بالكتاب المعروف بالزمنة عند عوام الناس، و اسمه عند المجوس بستاه⁵... و سذكر بعد هذا الموضع من هذا الكتاب ما ابانه زرادشت في كتابه⁷، و ما جعل له من التفسير و تفسير التفسير، و كتب هذا الكتاب في اثني عشر الف جلد بالذهب، فيه وعد و وعيد، و امر و نهى، و غير ذلك من الشرايع والعبادات، فلم تزل الملوك تعمل بما في هذا الكتاب الى الاسكندر و ما كان من قتله لدارا ابن دارا، فاحرق الاسكندر بعض هذا الكتاب. ثم صار الملك بعد الطوائف الى اردشير بن بابك، فجمع الفرس على قراءة سورة من هذا الكتاب يقال لها اسناد⁹ بالفرس و المجوس الى هذا الوقت لا يقرؤن غيرها، والكتاب الاول يسمى بستاه¹⁰. ثم عمل لهم زرادشت تفسيراً عند عجزهم عن فهمه، و سموا التفسير زندا¹¹، ثم عمل للتفسير تفسيراً¹²

1 Christensen, *Quelques notices sur les plus anciennes periodes du Zoroastrisme* (Ex Actorum Orientalium, Vol. IV excerptum), 81.

2 Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, I, 51.

3 Mo'in, *op. cit.*, 64-65.

4 Paris ed., II, 124-26; Cairo ed., II, 194.

5 Cairo ed.: *Nasyāh*.

6 *Ibid.*: ما اتى به.

7 *Ibid.*: في كتابه.

9 Cairo ed.: اسناد.

11 *Ibid.*: زيذا.

8 That is *Arsacids*.

10 *Ibid.*: نسيه.

12 *Ibid.*: +و.

سماء بازند¹ تم عمل علماؤهم بعد وفاة زرادشت تفسيراً لتفسير المفسير و شرحاً لما ذكرنا² و سموه بارده³ فالمجوس الى هذا الوقت يعجزون عن حفظ كتابهم المنزل⁴ فصار علماؤهم و هرايدتهم⁵ ياخذون كثيراً منهم بحفظ اسباع⁶ من هذا الكتاب و ارباع و الثلاث فيسدي كل واحد بما حفظ من جزئه فيلوه⁷ و يسدي الثاني منهم فسلو جزءاً آخر⁸ و الثالث كذلك الى ان باتى الجميع على قراءة سائر الكتاب لعجز الواحد عن حفظه كاملاً⁹“

Again, Mas'ūdī says in *al-Tanbih*.⁸

”وجاء زرادشت (اي جاء زرادشت الى بشتاسب) بالكتاب المعروف بالآستا¹ و اذا عرب التسمية فقل الآستا² وعدد سورة احدى و عشرون سورة كل سورة في مائتين من الاوراق... و كتب في اثني عشر الف جلد لوز بفضان الذهب خطراً باللغة الفارسية الاولى³ ولا يعلم احد اليوم يعرف معنى تلك اللغة⁴ و انما نقل لهم الى هذه الفارسية ثنى من السور. فهي في ايديهم يعرفونها في صنواتهم كالشاذ و جرش و بالنسب و عاديخت و غيرها من السور. في جرشنت الحبر عن مبدأ العالم و منتهاه⁵ و في عاديخت مواعظ و عمل زرادشت الآستا⁶ شرحاً لسماء الزاند⁷ و هو خلدعهم كلام الرب المنزل على زرادشت⁸ لم ترجمه زرادشت من لغة التهلوية الى الفارسية. لم عمل زرادشت للزاند شرحاً لسماء بازند⁹ و علمت العلماء من الموايدة و الهرايدة لذلك الشرح شرحاً سموه بارده¹⁰ و منهم من يسميه اكرده¹¹ فاحرقه الاسكندر لما غلب على ملك فارس و قتل دارا بن دارا...“

The title of Zaraoustra's book is *Avistāk* and *Apistāk* in Pahlavi, *bstg* in Syriac, *Awastā* or *Avistā* in Pazand, and *Abestāq*, *Abestā*, *Vestāq*, *Bestāj* in Arabic.¹⁰

This book covers five parts:

1. *Yasnā*,

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1 <i>Ibid.</i> : بازید . | 2 <i>Ibid.</i> : لسائر ما ذكرنا . |
| 3 <i>Ibid.</i> : موايدتهم . | 4 <i>Ibid.</i> : اسباعاً . |
| 5 <i>Ibid.</i> : ارباعاً و اثلاثاً . | 6 <i>Ibid.</i> : + منهم . |

7 *Ibid.*: على الكمال .

8 Brill ed., pp. 91-92; Bagdad ed. by 'Abd 'Allāh Ismā'īl al-Sāwī, p. 80

9 *Ibid.*: بارده .

10 Bailey, "Perse", *Encycl. de l'Islam*.

2. *Visparad*,
3. *Vāndīdād*,
4. *Yashts*,
5. *Little Avestā*.

The oldest part is *Yasnā*, especially a section of it called *Gathas*, which is believed to have been composed by Zaratoustra himself.

The word *Zand* (Avestic *Azanti*) means interpretation or commentary. In olden times a commentary was written on *Avestā* in Avestic language. Later, this commentary was mixed up with the text of *Avesta*, and was translated into Pahlavi during the reign of the Sassanid kings. Part of this translation was made during the time of Mazdak, a contemporary of Gobād (490-531 A.D.), for Mazdak is mentioned there (Item 49 of Chapter 4 of *Vandīdād*) as “The Seducer.”

Pāzand, the Arabic form of which is *Bāzand*, is composed of two parts: “pa” (Avestic *paiti*) meaning “anti” and “owner”: and “zand” (Avestic *azanti*). The word is derived from Avestic ‘*paiti azanti*’ and has come to denote the Pahlavi language excluding the Aramaic words or “*huzvāreš*.” This language appeared during the second and third centuries after the Arab conquest by the elimination of Aramaic words from Pahlavi language.¹

Zamzamah or *Zamzam*, which is considered by Mas‘ūdī as a colloquial synonym for “*Avesta*,” means “to say prayers in a low tone on certain occasions, especially while eating.” Hence *Zamzamah* does not mean *Avesta*, but implies saying Avestic prayers while eating.²

Asnādā and *Bānist*:

The first word is transcribed as *Aštān*, اسان *Aštān* (?) or *Asnad*, and the second is sometimes written as بانست (*Banist* ?).

Some authorities believe that these words stand for *Aštān Yast* and *Ābān Yast*, two of the *Avesta Yašts*. Darmesteter, being doubtful about these origins, states, “*Ašnad Yašt* is one of the minor *Yašts* and cannot, possibly, be significant here. The term may signify the whole



1 Mo‘īn, *op. cit.*, 142-45.

2 Mo‘īn, *op. cit.*, 253 f.

Yašts, while Asnādā, as mentioned in *Murūj* may, in my opinion, mean Yasnā. Mas'ūdī's explanation in this regard confirms my view.¹

There are many examples of such negligence in the works of Muslim historians.

Jetrašt:

This word and also Hetrast,  and  are supposed to be incorrect transcriptions of Čidrašt.²

Hādoxt:

Hādoxt Nask is one of the parts of *Avesta*, considered as *Yašts* 21 and 22 in the text of *Avesta* by Westergaard.³ In the *Avesta* text edited by Geldner and, also, in the opinion of modern Zoroastrians, there are only 21 *Yašts*. Haug, in 1872, corrected the *Avestic Hādoxt Nask* and a Pahlavi commentary on it according to two old manuscripts written in the 14th century A.D., and published them in his volume on *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāmāh*. The text is in Avestic script and the commentary in Latin characters with an English translation.⁴ Later, *Hādoxt Nask* was included in Darmesteter's translation of *Avesta*.⁵

Hādoxt Nask is indicated in the eighth and ninth books of *Dinkart*, where all the parts of *Avesta* are fully described, as the twentieth part of the *Avesta*. It reveals, therefore, that the present *Hādoxt Nask* is a piece of the last *Hādoxt Nask* of the Sassanid period.⁶

: یازده

, also یازده (Nāzdah), یازده (Bārdah), یازده (Bārzah) and یازده (Yāzdlāh), are forms of یازده (Yardah), a short form of Ayārdah. We have it in *Dinkart* VII, III, 37 as Āyārtak.

In *Lughāt-e Furs*,⁸ Asadī of Tūs writes, " *Ayārdah* means *Pāzand*, and *Pāzand* is the commentary on *Zand* and *Avesta*." It should be remembered that *Zand*, originally signifying the Pahlavi translation of

1 *Al-Tanbīh wa'l-Ishrāf*, Brill ed. 91.

2 Haug, 131. Quoted in *al-Tanbīh wa'l-Ishrāf*, Brill ed. 92.

3 *Zend-Avesta*, ed. Westergaard, Vol. I, Texts, Yasht-fragment, XXI-XXII.

4 The book of *Arda Vīraf*, with *Gōsht-i-Fryān* and *Hadokht-Nask*. Texts and translations by Hoshang and Haug, 1872.

5 *Le Zend-Avesta*, par Darmesteter, Vol. II, 646-658.

6 *Vide Burhān-e Qāṭi'*, ed. M. Mo'in.

7 Ed. Madan, 680, 20.

8 *Iqbāl*, ed. 475.

Avesta, without any comments or interpretation, came to mean the translations and commentaries,¹ as Khosravānī says:

چه مایه زاهد و پرهیزگار و صومعه‌گی
که سنک خوان شده از عشقش و ایارده گوی

Akardah:

Darmesteter writes on this word, which has been mistranscribed as الرذء (Alardah), "I wonder how can *Akardah* be corrected. The only text which comes to my mind is *Dīnkart*, which as its author states, is prepared from the disbanded documents previously marred by Alexander."²

It is also thought that *Akardah* stands for *Kardah* (Avestic *Kareti*) which is the name for each part of *Vīspared*, one of the five Avesta Books.³

A third conjecture is that, as misreading occurs frequently in Pahlavi script, the Pahlavi *Ayārtak* is read first *Ayarkak* and then *Akartak*, and the latter is changed to *Akardeh* in Pazand and Persian. This conforms with Mas'ūdī's belief in the identification of *Yārdeh* and *Akardah*.

1 From a letter by Prof. de Mensce to the author of this article.

2 *Al-Tanbūh*, Brill ed., 92n.

3 Mo'in, *op. cit.*, 128-29.

A SOURCE OF AL-MAS'ŪDĪ: THE MADĪNAT AL-FĀDILAH OF AL-FĀRĀBĪ

BY

D. M. DUNLOP

Al-Mas'ūdī's *Kitāb al-Tanbīh* is a comparatively short work of a few hundred pages. It is crammed with information on great variety of subjects and, as the author himself tells us, it gives a kind of *résumé* of his earlier writings, which were numerous, though now mostly lost. The work was finished in 344/955, but al-Mas'ūdī began again, and in the following year produced a longer version (twice the size), which is what we have in the printed texts.¹ He died shortly afterwards, in 345 or 346 A.H.

In a chapter of the *Kitāb al-Tanbīh* dealing with the kings of the Greeks from the time of Philip of Macedon there is a long passage in which the newer 'political philosophy' (*al-falsafat al-madaniyah*) of Socrates, Plato and Aristotle (as opposed to the 'natural philosophy' of Pythagoras, Thales and others) is expounded². This exposition, beginning with the one Existent from which all existents receive their being by emanation (*faiḍ*), and continuing down through the spiritual beings (*al-rūḥāniyyūn*) and celestial bodies (*al-ajsām al-hayūlāniyah*) and man, is so far reminiscent much less of Socrates and his immediate successors than of Neoplatonism, and in particular of the great exponent of Neoplatonism among the Arabs, al-Fārābī.

In the MSS used by Dieterici for the first printed edition of *al-Madīnat al-Fāḍilah* and in the edition itself,³ the text is preceded by what is called:

اختصار الابواب التي في كتاب المدينة المأخوذة تأليف أبي نصر محمد بن
محمد بن طرخان بن اوزلاغ الفارابي التركي -

This extends to nearly four printed pages, and gives in fact an abbreviation of the work, divided into nineteen sections or chapters. Dieterici has little to say specifically about the *Ikhtisār*, which he refers

1 *Kitāb al-Tanbīh*, ed. Cairo, 1357/1938, 347-48.

2 Ed. Cairo, 101 (beginning: *al-mawjūd al-awwal alladhī iqtabasat al-mawjūdāt wujūdahā 'anhā*)—103 (ending: *allatī minha banshar'a aṣnāf al-aww' wa'l-ijtimā'āt wa'l-mudun wa's-ri'āsatal-ḡallāh*).

3 Leiden, 1895.

to as an *Inhaltsgabe*, or table of contents, beyond the remark that it is 'sehr allgemein gehalten', *i.e.* couched in very general terms,¹ and indeed the correspondence between it and the printed text does not seem to be very exact. There is no reason, however, to think that the *Ikhtiṣār* is other than it purports to be.

It is apparently very ancient, and if it is not actually represented as by al-Fārābī himself,² it appears to go back to his time. The proof of this lies in what seems to be the unmistakable fact that it is quoted or paraphrased by al-Mas'ūdī in the *Kitāb al-Tanbīh*, written in 955 and 956, *i.e.* not more than six years after the death of al-Fārābī, which al-Mas'ūdī himself tells us took place in Rajab, 334/December, 950, or January 951.³ The striking correspondence between the *Ikhtiṣār* and the *Kitāb al-Tanbīh* in the chapter already referred to may be set out conveniently in tabular form:

Tanbīh, ed. Cairo, 1938:

Ikhtiṣār, ed. Dieterici:

١	وفى الانسان و فى قوى النفس الانسانية ... و مراتب بعضها من بعض (ص ٢)	١	ونفس الانسان و كم قواها ... مراتب بعضها فى بعض (ص ١٠١)
٢	وفى حاجة الانسان الى الاجتماع والتعاون و كم اصناف الاجتماعات الانسانية (ص ٣)	٢	وما الحاجة الى الاجتماعات الانسانية واصناف الاجتماعات وهى التي بها يتعاونون (ص ١٠٢)
٣	و كيف ينبغي ان يكون ترتيب الرئيس الفاضل الاول و اى شرائط وعلامات ينبغي ان نتقده (sic) فى الصبى و الحدث (ص ٣)	٣	و كيف ينبغي ان يكون ملك هذه المدينة و رئيسها الاول و اى علامات و شرائط ينبغي ان تكون فيه من مولده و فى صباه و حدائثه (ص ١٠٢)
٤	ثم ذكر السعادات القصوى التي اليها تصير انفس اهل المدن الفاضلة فى الحياة و الآخرة (sic)	٤	وما اصناف السعادات التي تصير اليها انفس اهل المدينة الفاضلة فى الحياة الآخرة و اصناف الشقاء التي

1 In the translation *Der Musterstaat von Alfarabi* (Leiden, 1900, LXXVII).

2 The word *ta'ūf* in the title (given above) may refer to *Ikhtiṣār*. Dieterici (*Musterstaat*, I) takes it closely with *Kitāb al-Madīnat al-Fāḍilah*.

3 *Tanbīh*, 106.

واصناف الشقا التي تصير اليها	تصير اليها انفس اهل المدن
نفوس اهل المدن المضادة للمدينة	المضادة للمدينة الفاضلة في الحياة
الفاضلة بعد الموت (ص ٨)	الآخرة (ص ١٠٣)

It is, I think, evident that there is a close relation between these two sets of passages, the simplest explanation of which no doubt is that al-Mas'ūdī had before him the *Ikhtiyār* as it appears in the MSS of the *Madīnat al-Fāḍilah* and printed in Dieterici's edition. At all events, it appears certain that al-Mas'ūdī was familiar with the contents of the *Madīnat al-Fāḍilah* and made use of them in composing the work which here in the *Tanbīh* he is citing, viz., the lost *Kitāb Funūn al-Ma'ārif wa-mā Jarā fī'd-Duhūr al-Sawāliḥ*. The citation of this in the *Tanbīh* is quite long,¹ considerably longer than what corresponds to the contents of the *Madīnat al-Fāḍilah*, and gives in fact a sketch in some detail of the history of philosophy among the Greeks and Arabs. For much of this he is evidently indebted to al-Fārābī.

AL-MAS'ŪDĪ AS A GEOGRAPHER

BY

MOHAMMAD SHAFI

Al-Mas'ūdī's contribution to geography can be best understood and appreciated in contrast to the state of knowledge in contemporary times as well as the period immediately preceding it.

The Greek and the Roman contributions to geography, which preceded the Arabs, reached their high water-mark with the work of Ptolemy and it will not be too much to say that with Ptolemy the story of ancient discovery comes to an end. From then onwards the "Dark Age of Geography" set in. The Arabs rekindled the scientific spirit and made distinct contributions in the fields of Physical and Regional Geography, Mathematical Geography and Cartography.

It is perhaps true to say that the majority of the Arab geographers never attempted to write a formal treatise on Geography. In fact in those days there was no such concept of geography as we have in modern times. Until the nineteenth century Geography was considered to be a mere description of the earth or the description of all terrestrial phenomena. The systematization and correlation of facts, the study of the physical and cultural landscapes, their revolutions and inter-relationships have been put on a more thorough and scientific basis during the last two hundred years. These developments came partly as a result of the scientific progress after the middle of the eighteenth century in science and the humanities, in the improvement in cartographic method by initiation and completion of national topographic surveys, by improvements in astronomic observations and methods of land measurements—all these developments resulted in a vast accumulation of facts on all aspects of science which formed the raw material for the scientific development of Geography.

It is against this background that al-Mas'ūdī's contributions as a geographer in the 10th century A.D. have to be assessed. We may come across a lack of order, of symmetry and of selection in his production, and the central historical thread may even be lost in the digression, but if we can sift from his writings ideas anticipating modern geographical thought, correct observations, their correlation and inter-

pretation, then al-Mas'ūdī by all canons of scientific laws must be deemed a notable geographer of the medieval times.

One of the most important contributions of al-Mas'ūdī lies in the field of Physical Geography. Modern ideas on geomorphology include both the comparative study of land forms and then analytical study of processes concerned in their formation. Landform is visualised to pass through a cycle of development from the youthful stage to maturity and finally to the old stage or the stage of peneplanation. The cyclical interpretation of landform and the recognition of the complex history of uplift and erosion of mountains has captured the imagination of the geographers and the geologists alike. It has made possible the postulation of geomorphic history from an otherwise meaningless maze of hills and valleys. A geographer cannot take landform as given without an intelligent scrutiny of their genesis, any more than the chemist can rest content with molecules and ignore the worlds of atomic and sub-atomic physics. In fact a modern geographer cannot look upon a landscape without recognizing the extraordinary adjustment of streams to structures and of wastes to weather.

Al-Mas'ūdī well appreciated the role of cycle of erosion and adjustment of streams to structure in the evolution of landform when he says: "There is no place on earth that is always covered with water, nor one that is always land, but a constant revolution takes place effected by the rivers which are always shifting, for places watered by rivers have a time of youth and of decrepitude like animals and plants with this difference that growth and decay in plants and animals manifest themselves in all parts at once so that they flourish and wither at the same time. But the earth grows and declines part by part."¹ Al-Mas'ūdī's observations become all the more significant when it is considered that the role of rivers in the evolution of physical landscape has begun to receive adequate appreciation only during the last hundred and fifty years.

In the field of oceanography, al-Mas'ūdī shows acquaintance with the different problems and theories, both scientific and popular, current in his time, relating to the shapes, sizes and limits of the different seas.² On the world map he shows the Indian Ocean opening out freely into the *Encircling Ocean* both to the east and south east. It also com-

1 Beazley C. R., *The Dawn of Modern Geography*, vol. I. (London, 1897), p. 462.

2 Ahmad, S. Maqbul "Al-Mas'ūdī's Contribution to Medieval Arab Geography," *Islamic Culture*, vol. XXVII, No. 2, (Hyderabad, 1953), p. 68.

municates with the south Atlantic by means of a narrow channel south of Africa. There is all probability that the conception of this channel was communicated to the Portuguese, and that it inspired them or at least strengthened their belief in the possibility of circumnavigation of Africa. Al-Mas'ūdī informs us better than all his predecessors about the shape of the Indian Ocean.¹ He draws the coast and islands of S. E. Asia in better proportion² and this shows that he was well acquainted with the facts brought home by Arab mariners of the Indian Ocean.

He describes very vividly the stormy nature of the Indian Ocean and also describes the blowing of monsoon and the timing of navigation dependent upon the winds. He makes a clear distinction between the small waves of inland seas and gulfs and the huge rollers of the ocean when he says "In the sea of India are blind waves as high as mountains between which abysses open like the deepest valleys, but they do not break and hence no foam is generated by collision as in other seas."³

Al-Mas'ūdī's treatment of some of the vexed questions of geography is interesting. He concluded that the Caspian was an inland sea, and that it was not connected with the Black Sea or with the Northern Ocean.⁴ In the Christian geography of the early Middle Ages it was commonly believed that the Caspian Sea was an arm of the Northern Ocean. This misconception was prevalent even among the Arabs and is repeated by Abū Zayd Ḥasan and many others. European ideas on the subject were first properly corrected by the missionary traveller of the thirteenth century, John de Plano Carpini.⁵ Al-Mas'ūdī, in support of his statement, mentions that he himself sailed on the Caspian Sea and questioned the merchants and sailors on the subject and all of them said that the Caspian Sea was not connected with any other sea. He also gives a long description of a Russian expedition from the Black Sea to the Caspian indicating its route which shows that the two seas were not connected but that there was water communication between them by means of rivers and canals. It was to this last point that he attributed the mistake of those who believed in the identity of the two seas.⁶ Actually the rivers referred to by al-Mas'ūdī must have been

1 Hozayen, S.A.S., "Some Contributions of the Arabs to Geography," *Geography*, vol. XVII, (Manchester, 1932), p. 127.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 128.

3 Beazley, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 464.

4 *Ibid.*, p. 459.

5 *Ibid.*, p. 460.

6 *Murūj al-Dhahāb*, ed. Barbier de Meynard and Pavet de Courteille, Paris 1861, vol. II, pp. 18-24.

the Don and the Volga, the main streams of which are about 50 miles apart at their nearest point of approach.¹ Here we find that al-Mas'ūdī makes independent observations and does not follow either the Greeks or the Arabs blindly.

Al-Mas'ūdī's account of the Nile is also of significant interest. He criticises the belief of al-Jāhīz adopted from the Greeks that the Indus was connected with the Nile and this concept was based on the fact that crocodiles were found in both the rivers. Al-Mas'ūdī felt that al-Jāhīz expressed this preposterous notion because he had neither sailed on the seas nor travelled extensively.² This refutation of al-Mas'ūdī clearly demonstrates his recognition of observation and travels as an important basis of geographical knowledge. He describes the Nile as rising from the mountains of Zanj (Abyssinia) or the highlands that form the Zanzibar coast and that flowing through the Sudan it sends off a branch to the *Black Men's Sea*, (Indian Ocean).³

He contradicts the belief of earlier geographers like Ibn Khurra-dādhbih that the river Oxus (Jayhūn or Amū Daryā) flowed into the Indus and then into the Abyssinian sea. He believed that the Oxus river flowed into the Aral sea.⁴ The Aral sea is probably mentioned for the first time by al-Mas'ūdī.

The Earth: shape, size and movement

The opinion about the sphericity of the earth was divided in the Europe of Middle Ages. One can find ideas ranging from the preposterous thinking of Cosmos to the hesitation of the Christian mind to accept the pagan views. St. Augustine regarded roundness as incredible while Cosmos not only thought the idea of spherical earth as being against the teachings of the Bible, but he personally thought it impossible. He worked out an earth modelled in details upon Moses' tabernacle. This earth was flat and rectangular, twice as long west-and-east as north-and-south and surrounded by oceans.⁵ The medieval European mind clouded with religious fanaticism was not prepared to accept the idea of sphericity. Al-Mas'ūdī had a conception of the sphericity of the Earth. He believed that the surface of the sea must

1 Ahmad, S. Maqbul, *op. cit.*, p. 69.

2 Beazley, *op. cit.*, p. 462.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 463.

4 *Ibid.*, p. 464.

5 Dickinson, R. E. and Howarth, O. T. R. *The Making of Geography*. (Oxford, 1933) p. 44.

be curved since when a ship approached land, the coast and the objects thereon gradually become more and more visible. He compares the advantages and disadvantages of the earth being spherical instead of flat, saying that had it been flat all lands would have remained eternally submerged under the sea.¹ From amongst the various calculations of the length of a terrestrial degree made by the Arab astronomers, he preferred that of $66\frac{2}{3}$ miles, as in accordance with that of Ptolemy. He, therefore, agreed with the calculations of the circumference of the earth attributed to Ptolemy by the Arabs, viz., 24,000 miles and of the diameter as 7,667 miles.²

It will thus be noticed that al-Mas'ūdī did not only depend upon age-old geographical theories and conceptions as propounded by the ancient or contemporary theoreticians, but judged them critically in the light of his own observations and experiences as well. In the field of Human Geography, he attempted to correlate the environment with the human activities and racial characteristics, believed in the influence of climate on plant and animal life, correlated heat with vegetation and human activities and analyzed the factors which regulate temperature.

Whether or not we agree with his correlations and interpretations, the fact remains that al-Mas'ūdī gave a scientific bias to the study of geography by infusing in it a spirit of inquiry and it will be no exaggeration to say that he was the fore-runner of modern Human Geography.

1 Ahmad, S. Maqbul, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 68.

USE OF POETRY BY AL-MAS'ŪDĪ IN HIS WORKS

BY

H. GHULAM MUSTAFA

Al-Mas'ūdī's extant works, *Murūj al-Dhahab* and *al-Tanbīh wa 'l-Ishrāf*, contain a rich store of Arabic poetry cited by the author on a variety of occasions and for various reasons. It is a well known fact that ancient Arabic poetry forms a valuable source of information on the life and conditions of the people of pre-Islamic Arabia. It was widely used by Arab historians to illustrate historical allusions and as a source-material on Arab history. It was largely in keeping with the practice of the time that al-Mas'ūdī also quoted innumerable verses in his works, not only to give support to historical references or to accounts of manners, customs or superstitions of the people, but also from a purely literary point of view in order to give a literary colour to his works. The following analysis of the use of poetry by al-Mas'ūdī will help us to understand and appreciate the author as a person deeply interested in poetry and one who loved *belles lettres*.

To illustrate historical allusions, legends, etc.:

Giving an account of the ancient kings of Iran, the author has quoted certain verses to support his description that Farīdūn divided his kingdom into three parts and assigned each to each of his three sons, Irāj, Tūr and Salam.¹ Enlisting different views on the nature of human mind, he points out that one of the current superstitious beliefs was that "the mind is a bird expanded in human body; it leaves the body after death and continues to bewail the deceased on his grave. This bird was called by the pagan Arabs *Hāma*."² Al-Mas'ūdī loved to include in his writings the unique and wonderful incidents even at the cost of digression from the main topic. The following example will show that he used a long poem not only for the sake of its amusing content but also to illustrate an historical fact. Describing the characteristics of the elephant, he says, that in spite of its bulk and huge size, it was afraid of cats. Once, Hārūn b. Mūsā, an important personality of Multan and a poet, was attacked by his enemies, who charged at him with elephants. Hārūn moving forward to face the enemy, suddenly produced a cat from underneath his sleeves and flung

1 *Murūj*, I, p. 140 (ed. Cairo, 1346 A.H.).

2 *Ibid.*, I, p. 326.

it at an elephant. The elephant got scared and the whole army fled. Thus the battle was won. Al-Mas'ūdī has quoted a long poem in which Hārūn b. Mūsā has himself shown how these tactics were employed.¹

In support of arguments:

Al-Mas'ūdī utilized poetry when refuting a wrong notion or upholding his own point of view, *e.g.*, when he refuted the notion that human beings were of three categories, namely, *nās*, *nisnās*, and *nasānis*,² or in support of his personal conviction that personal merit is preferable to lineage.³

Sentimental occasions:

Some of the most beautiful verses are used by the author when he wishes to give full expression to his deep sentiments, *e.g.*, yearning for his native land, Iraq,⁴ or when he wishes to emphasize his long and arduous journeys through the east and the west and the fact that he had travelled far and wide.⁵

Popularity of poetry and love of the people for it:

Al-Mas'ūdī has quoted innumerable verses and has related many anecdotes which throw light on how popular pre-Islamic Arabic poetry was among the Arabs, beduins and caliphs alike.

Once, Yazīd b. 'Abd al-Malik recollected some verses of al-Find of al-Zimmānī, a pre-Islamic poet and wished the whole to be recited to him. He was told that there was an expert reciter in Mecca, who could do it. The man was sent for from Mecca through the governor. He came to the caliph, recited the poems and was awarded generously.⁶

Al-Mas'ūdī's use of innumerable verses in the chapters dealing with the character and manners of the caliphs, in the second half of his work, *Murūj*, shows his affection for poetry and is an evidence of his aesthetic taste. In this part of the book he has related many anecdotes relating to the life of the poets, which gives this portion of the book a literary rather than an historical appearance. Giving an account of the first

1 *Murūj*, I, 239-40.

2 *Ibid.*, I, p. 364.

3 *Ibid.*, I, p. 268.

4 *Ibid.*, I, p. 274.

5 *Tanbīh*, p. 7.

6 *Murūj*, II, p. 176.

‘Abbāsīd caliph, al-Saffāh, al-Mas‘ūdī narrates an interesting anecdote on the authority of Yazīd al-Raqqāshī, which runs thus:¹

Once a member of the clan of Tanūkh halted in the neighbourhood of the tribe Banū ‘Āmīr. Each time he unloaded an article from the camel, he recited, unconsciously of course, a verse satirizing the host tribe, Banū ‘Āmīr. When a woman observed this, she approached him and after a brief conversation asked the name of his tribe. The man replied that he belonged to the sons of Tamīm, whereupon the woman said, “Do you know the poet who composed this verse” and she instantaneously recited a verse satirizing the sons of Tamīm. Now the man denied his association with the sons of Tamīm, and said that he belonged to the sons of ‘Ijl. Thereupon she at once recited some verses satirizing the sons of ‘Ijl. The man again disowned ‘Ijl and said, “No, I belong not to the sons of ‘Ijl but to the sons of Yashkur.” The woman again recited a satirizing verse. Thus the man continued to deny his association with one tribe after the other and enumerated about 23 tribes in quick succession, and each time the woman would recite a satirical verse and ask him, “Which tribe do you belong to?” At last when he had exhausted the entire list of the tribes known to him, he replied that he belonged to the sons of the devil, and this time again he could not escape from the trenchant satire of the lady. Then the man ultimately yielded and confessed his helplessness.

Nearly 75 verses have been quoted by al-Mas‘ūdī in the course of the narration of this story. The introduction of this long anecdote and the use of so many verses are also a striking proof of the fact that al-Mas‘ūdī had an inherent love for poetry.

Critical appreciation of poetry:

The following example would serve to show that al-Mas‘ūdī appreciated poetry critically. He says:

Once the poet ‘Ubayd al-Rā’ī was travelling with a party comprising some persons of Banū Tamīm. In the course of their journey they suddenly came upon a flock of wild deer which came and stood in front of them. The poet was amazed at this phenomenon, but his other companions took no notice of it. It so happened that the leader of the party was later bitten by a snake and died instantaneously. The poet, ‘Ubayd al-Rā’ī composed some verses on the occasion in which he

1 *Murūj*, II, pp. 223 sqq.

conveyed the idea that the moment he had seen the deer he had realized, on the basis of the omen from the phenomenon, that some mishap was likely to occur.¹

Now, al-Mas'ūdī says that Abū 'Ubayda, who was a great scholar and critic of the early 'Abbāsīd period, has expressed surprise at the poet drawing bad omen from this phenomenon, because in his opinion the appearance of a flock of deer is not an inauspicious sign. Then al-Mas'ūdī gives his own interpretation and says that, in fact, the poet had drawn the bad omen actually from the state of departure of the deer, although he only mentioned the state of their arrival in his verses.

Thus we find that our author removed the ambiguity about the phenomenon and incidentally also disclosed his own viewpoint, namely, that a poet should describe an incident from its very beginning so that a full picture may be placed before the reader.

Emphasis on objectivity in appreciation of poetry:

One is impressed by the objective approach that our author displays in regard to selection and appreciation of poetry. He was not guided by personal considerations or bias of any kind towards the poet. His only criterion was the merit of the verse itself and not the personality of the poet. He layed emphasis on 'what was said' and judged the verse from this point of view and this fact is discernible throughout his use of poetry. However, on one occasion, he has explicitly expressed his opinion in this regard. Discussing the poetical traditions relating to Abū Tammām, he says:²

Ibrāhīm b. al-Mudabbir, in spite of his being a great scholar, held some bias against the renowned poet Abū Tammām, and the former would always condemn the poetry of the latter. One day Muḥammad b. Abū 'l-Azhar recited to him some selected pieces from the poetry of Abū Tammām (which al-Mas'ūdī has quoted). He then desired to know the opinion of Ibrāhīm b. al-Mudabbir about the verses. Thereupon, the latter was infuriated and began to abuse Abū Tammām.

Al-Mas'ūdī remarks that the attitude of Ibrāhīm b. al-Mudabbir was not very healthy and that merit should always be recognized and appreciated, irrespective of the quarter from which it emanates. This

1 *Murūj*, I, p. 334.

2 *Ibid.*, II, p. 360 sqq.

shows that al-Mas'ūdī was never guided by considerations of prejudice and partiality in this respect.

Favourite poets:

Al-Mas'ūdī has used praiseworthy language in respect of a number of poets, but Abū Tammām and Abū 'l-'Atāhiya have received the highest praise from him and the largest number of verses have been quoted from their compositions. However, for Abū Tammām, al-Mas'ūdī has used a special and highly commendable language. After narrating the above-mentioned anecdote relating to Ibrāhīm b. al-Mudabbir, he says:

و من عاب مثل هذه الأشعار التي ترواح لها القلوب و تحرك بها النفوس
و تصغى إليها الأسماع و تتلذذ بها الأذهان و يعلم كل من له قريحة
و فضل و معرفة أن فائدها قد بلغ في الأجادة أبعد غاية و أقصى
نهاية فانما غص من نفسه و طعن على معرفته و اختياره

Further, he has the following words in his praise:

ولا يبي تمام أشعار حسان و معان لطاف و استخراجات بدیعة¹

However, it may be pointed out here that while he is full of admiration for Abū Tammām, he takes no notice of al-Buḥturī, a celebrated though younger contemporary of Abū Tammām, although the critics of Arabic poetry believe that Abū Tammām is a thinker and a philosopher, whereas al-Buḥturī is a genuine poet. It may be that al-Mas'ūdī preferred poetry which dealt with descriptions of facts and is full of realism, and this is the main feature of Abū Tammām's poetry.

Elegies and threnodes:

Another distinctive feature of the verses used by al-Mas'ūdī is that they generally pertain to human calamities, revolutions, disasters and events of the kind. He has used elegiac poetry to a very large extent. He frequently uses threnodes lamenting deaths of caliphs and seldom uses verses written in their praise, which are larger in number as compared to the former category. Thus he has used a large number of verses describing the downfall of the Barmakides, and has in the same context quoted an elegiac poem² containing some seventeen lines written by 'Alī b. Abū Mu'ādh, in which the latter has given a pathetic

¹ *Murūj*, II, p. 362.

² *Ibid.*, II, pp. 293-94.

description of the fluctuations of fortune and the vanities of wordly pleasures. Then he has quoted a large number of verses depicting the great devastation that was wrought upon Baghdad through the wars between Amīn and al-Ma'mūn. One of these is a long poem of thirty-four lines by the poet al-A'mā, in which he has described the misfortune in fuller detail.¹

It may not be wrong to say that it was probably because of this preference of al-Mas'ūdī to elegiac poems that he chose Abū 'l-'Atāhiya as one of his favourite poets and has extensively quoted from him. Abū 'l-'Atāhiya's poems are full of pathos and contain accounts of deaths, calamities of life, weaknesses of man, etc. Al-Mas'ūdī has pronounced his verses as being the most beautiful specimens of poetry. This may also lead us to the conclusion that al-Mas'ūdī held the view that the object of poetry should be the welfare of human beings, or in modern terminology 'literature for the sake of society' should be the motto. We find that Abū 'l-'Atāhiya's poetry is noteworthy for its morals. He deals with religious topics and ethical matters and gives his verses a moralizing colour. Praising some of his verses which contain descriptions of sincere friendship and undefiled loyalty al-Mas'ūdī says:

فلو لم يكن لأبي العتاهية سوى هذه الأبيات التي أبان فيها عن
صدق الأئخاء ومحض الوفاء وهي :

إن أخاك الصدق من كان معك و من يضر نفسه لينفعك
و من إذا ريب الزمان صدعك شتت شمل نفسه كي يجمعك²

He then remarks that the virtues pointed out in these verses had become extinct in his days.

Panegyrics:

As for panegyrics, al-Mas'ūdī hardly takes notice of them. The reason may be that this branch of poetry generally lacks sincerity of purpose and is devoid of realism. It is the embodiment of fictitious praise, exaggerated conceptions, excessive affectations and hypocritical expressions, so how could they appeal to a man like al-Mas'ūdī who loved the genuine expression of truthful sentiments and sincerity of

¹ *Murūj*, II, pp. 306-7.

² *Ibid.*, II, p. 252.

emotions which emanate from the inmost recesses of the heart and thus become appealing to the reader?

Form and style:

It may, however, be wrong to imagine that al-Mas'ūdī had no regard or choice for the form and style of the verse. With regard to the external forms of the verse, he was all for the harmonious blending of sweet words, fair combinations and simple and lucid language as is noticeable from the selection of the verses he made. Moreover, the poetry of Abū 'l-ʿAtāhiya, who is so dear to him, is remarkable for its simplicity of style and sweetness of diction. It is said of him that he was a poet of the masses. Al-Mas'ūdī himself has praised this aspect of his poetry saying that 'he possessed immense capacity to compose verses and to use beautiful diction.'¹ However, this should not lead one to the conclusion that al-Mas'ūdī loved ordinary language, vulgar expressions or common-place diction, and hated chaste language, elegant expressions or eloquent style. In fact he disliked artificiality of language, unfamiliarity of words, out-moded expressions and affectations in style, because he felt these elements generally undermine and eclipse the real meaning and the principal ideas of the verses. If, however, rhetorical expressions combined with marvellous metaphor or beautiful simile happen to occur with ease and simplicity and without special effort towards their introduction on the part of the writer, they find their due recognition by al-Mas'ūdī.

¹ *Murūj*, II, p. 251.

SOME GEOGRAPHICAL IDEAS OF AL-MAS'ŪDĪ

BY

S. M. ALI

The one aspect of geography is the study of the earth as a member of the universe and as a unit; the other, the detailed encyclopædic description of areas or countries. To the description of small areas Ptolemy gave the name 'chorography', as opposed to geography which dealt with the earth as a whole and 'cosmography' which dealt with the universe. The Arabs who were largely influenced by Greek traditions adopted the same general pattern but when geographical science began to crystallize in their works they were inclined to include cosmography, chorography and topography under the general heading, 'geography'. At each stage of the development of geography the Arabs laid great emphasis on 'cosmography', the advancement of which was dependent on advances in astronomical and mathematical theory and speculation, and in spite of lack of precision instruments for measuring angles and distances, they were soon able to establish fairly accurate results as judged by modern standards. On the other hand, chorography and topography was, for a long time, confined to a detailed but unsystematic and encyclopædic description of areas. To these descriptions was added the Oriental imagery and their love for the marvellous and the unknown. The progress of this branch of geography was naturally slow since facts and fables went together and was entirely dependent upon the production of accurate maps and the evolution of a definite concept of the aim, method and scope of the geography of small areas. By the middle of the tenth century a new school of Arab geographical thought arose in Baghdad which recognized the principle of scientific description and of correlation and coordination of human and physical facts. It laid the foundation of human and regional geography which was later on elaborated by Ibn Khaldūn and perfected in modern times. Al-Mas'ūdī belonged to this school and although he frequently indulged in 'cosmographical' theories borrowed from earlier works, his main contribution was the application of the results of his travels and personal observations to history and the recognition of cause and effect in related phenomena—human and physical—through the comparative study of different parts of the known world. His ideas appear almost to anticipate modern physical and human geography.

We may, for the purpose of a broad survey of al-Mas'ūdī's

geographical ideas, divide them into three groups, viz. those dealing with (a) the earth as a member of the universe, (b) the earth as a unit—its shape, size and arrangement of (and methods of determining) latitude and longitude, and (c) the detailed description of its component parts on the basis of political divisions or climatic regions (or اقاليم). But before we assess the achievements and shortcomings of al-Mas'ūdī in these fields we should keep in mind the following basic facts:—

(i) Al-Mas'ūdī lived in the tenth century A.D. when the knowledge of the earth was far from complete; when data regarding its various regions were limited and fragmentary; and finally when the methods of measurement particularly of time and distance were still imperfect.

(ii) Although al-Mas'ūdī has written a number of books, he never actually wrote a formal geographical treatise but all his writings furnish in greater or lesser measure valuable facts for the geographer. It should, however, be realized that if facts pertaining to geography are detached from the sequence in which they were put by al-Mas'ūdī, they are likely to appear illogical and fragmentary. This applies specially to that part of al-Mas'ūdī's work which deals with cosmography.

(iii) Al-Mas'ūdī was well-informed, not only in the Islamic sciences but also in ancient and contemporary literature. He was not a specialist in geography but his studies covered a wide range of subjects—history, geography, philosophy, astronomy and forensic sciences. He examined and compared the opinion of Greek, Indian and Sābī'an philosophers (Arabic versions of whose works were available in his time). He accepted those facts on which all or at least a majority of them agreed. But wherever they were at variance he presents their opinions in proper sequence and then adopts one of them which appears to him to be the most reasonable.

(iv) Al-Mas'ūdī was a great traveller. The greater part of his life was spent in voyages, and travels in different parts of Asia and Africa. In every region which he visited, he scrutinized available documents and contacted well informed persons of those countries. But, in the description of regions, wherever he depends on hearsay, he somehow errs towards exaggeration and sometimes absurdity. On the other hand when he does not lean on other people's 'opinions' or 'narratives' and is left to his own judgement and observation, he is remarkably accurate and precise.

(v) Almost all Arab geographers, including al-Mas'ūdī tried to match their theories with notions derived from oblique allusions to

geographical phenomena occurring in the Qur'ān. This led to incoherent and sometimes impossible statements.

A detailed analysis of al-Mas'ūdī's geographical conceptions is not possible in this short article. I shall, therefore, confine myself to short remarks on his ideas regarding earth as a unit, earth measurements, oceans and continents, limits of the habitable world and human geography.

The early Arabs considered the earth as the centre of the universe, round which revolved the seven 'planets' which, in order of their distance from the earth were: Moon, Mercury, Venus, Sun, Mars, Jupiter and Saturn. It was imagined that each of these planets occupied a particular 'sky' or rather, using the expression of Ptolemy, a separate 'sphere', and that each sky was under the authority of the 'planet' to which it had been assigned. In this hypothesis all the stars formed the eighth sky or the 'Highest Heaven'. Al-Mas'ūdī has reported an opinion in *Murūj*¹ that the first of the seven skies, closest to the earth is of green emerald, the second of white silver, the third of red ruby, the fourth of white pearl, the fifth of red gold, the sixth of yellow topaz and the seventh a mass of fire (*nūr*). Similarly there are seven earths one inside the other, the lowest of them being 'Hell'. Obviously this was an interpretation of the following verse of the Qur'ān, which persisted long in Arab geographical thought:—

الله الذى خلق سبع سموات و من الأرض مثلهن يتنزل الأمر بينهن لتعلموا
أن الله على كل شئ قدير -

Allah is He who created seven heavens and similar (shells) in the earth and the decree continues to descend among them, that you may know that Allah is all Power. (65: 12).

In *Murūj*, al-Mas'ūdī discusses the "figure of the earth and the theories of scholars of different nations on the extent of the habitable world and of that which is uninhabitable." He says, more than once, that Ptolemy had estimated the circumference of the earth to be 24,000 miles and that under al-Ma'mūn it was found to be 20,160 miles. At the same time he reports, without observation, the opinion of al-Battānī, who fixed this figure at 27,000 miles. The Arab authors, it appears, differed in their description regarding the earth's circumference, but al-Mas'ūdī instead of clarifying the problem, introduces further

1 *Murūj*, Vol. I, p. 49.

confusion. He at one place in *Murūj* says that "a degree was measured as equivalent to 56 miles which multiplied by 360 gives a circumference of 20,160 miles ... the mile being equivalent to 4,000 cubits *i.e.* black cubits adopted under al-Ma'mūn."¹ This is obviously a wrong statement since a black cubit is equal to 27 fingers and not 24 which al-Mas'ūdī uses in this estimate. It appears that al-Mas'ūdī was not good at mathematics and whenever he mentions some complicated number he commits some error in quantities. At another place he mentions measurements made between two cities of Palmyra and Raqqa on the sandy plains situated west of the Euphrates. "They started with the assumption that the two stations were on the same meridian. The latitude of Raqqa was estimated at $35\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ and that of Palmyra as 34° giving a difference of $1\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$. They measured this interval and it was found to be 67 miles."² This is again incorrect, firstly because Raqqa and Palmyra are not on the same meridian, and secondly the distance between these two places was known to be greater than what al-Mas'ūdī assumes. In *Tanbīh*, al-Mas'ūdī gives another version in which he mentions that an arc between Baghdad and Kufa (assuming that they were on the same meridian) was measured and that it gave the same result at which Ptolemy had arrived, namely, $66\frac{2}{3}$ miles.³ Ibn Yūnus whose authority in these matters is much more reliable mentions a measurement made in the plain west of the Euphrates, between Palmyra and a place called Wamiya which gave 57 miles to a degree. He also mentions another experiment in the plain of Sanjar which gave $56\frac{1}{4}$ miles to a degree—each mile containing 4,000 black cubits. This statement tallies with the known results of that period and is fairly correct.

After giving opinions regarding the size and shape of the earth al-Mas'ūdī applies himself to the determination of the limits of the oceans and continents. We know that the Greeks made the 'world landmass' to end on the west near the strait of Gibraltar, hence their prime meridian passed through the Eternal Islands adjacent to it. They imagined that Hercules, in the course of his exploits, had advanced up to this limit and that he raised on each side of the strait two high pillars (mountains) to commemorate his adventures. Al-Mas'ūdī perhaps on the strength of this tradition mentions in *Tanbīh*, of a colossus in Cadiz⁴ which with his arm raised towards the west gives the warning not to go beyond this extremity of the world, thus confirming the horrors of the Western Ocean.

1 *Murūj*, vol. I, pp. 182-83.

2 *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 190-91.

3 *Tanbīh*, pp. 26-27 (ed. de Goeje).

4 *Ibid.*, pp. 68-69.

As regards the eastern limits of the world al-Mas'ūdī followed the opinions of the Arab writers of the 9th and 10th centuries who placed a group of islands named Sīlā to the east of China. These, he believed, to be the end of the world in this direction.¹ The common belief at that time was that these islands were inhabited by white-complexioned people who lived at peace with the Chinese on the mainland. Sulaymān remarks that no Arab had ever advanced as far as Sīlā. Al-Mas'ūdī, on the contrary, asserts that Arabs had penetrated into these islands, but almost all of them decided to stay there on account of the mildness of the climate and abundance of wealth. He further adds that the indigenous population of these islands originally came from China and that they belonged to the race of 'Amur'. It is difficult not to identify these islands with Japan whose inhabitants maintained, for a long time, commercial relations with China.

There was a great diversity of notions regarding the southern limits of the world. Suprisingly enough, al-Mas'ūdī who had navigated along the coast of Zanzibar and had advanced up to Sofala does not say anything definite about the limit of the world in this direction. But it can be gathered from casual remarks in his works that he shared the opinion of al-Battānī in that the shape of Africa was approximately the same as we know it today, but considered its size very much smaller than what it actually is. Thus, 'Africa', he says, does not extend very far towards the south'. This error had much later a very happy effect—it encouraged European navigators to attempt to make a detour of this corner of the world.

Having defined the limits of the world landmass, al-Mas'ūdī deals with the extent of oceans and seas. In *Murūj*, he gives a summary of a passage from the preface of al-Battānī's *Astronomical Tables* which gives al-Battānī's ideas regarding the oceans and continents. Al-Mas'ūdī totally endorses these views, but differs only in details regarding those seas in which he had navigated. Expressing his opinion about the Encircling Ocean, al-Mas'ūdī says that according to many authors the *Encircling Ocean* (البحر المحيط) is the principal sea and that all other seas are derived from it. Many confuse it with the Green sea (الأخضر). It is this sea which in the Greek language is called the "Ocean." Generally speaking, Ptolemy and other geographers had not been able to determine its limits. It is known that this sea begins at the northern extremity of the habitable lands, that it turns to the west, and then it comes up to the southern extremity of the habitable land but its western

1 *Tanbīh*, p. 26.

and northern limits are not known. It is connected with the China sea near about Zābij (الزابج), the Isles of Maharāja, Shalāhiṭ, etc.¹

Following earlier Arab geographers al-Mas'ūdī adopted the denomination of *al-Baḥr al-Habshī* (البحر الحبشي) for the sea of Arabia, India and Malay. He says: "In the habitable world there is no sea bigger than this (sea). It extends along the equator from the far distant Abyssinia in the west to the extremity of China in the east. Its length, according to those who have collected information on this subject, is 8,000 miles. Its width from North to South is 2,700 miles, or according to some 1,900 miles. This is the opinion of Ptolemy and other writers who preceded and followed this scholar...

"Ptolemy had prolonged the *Baḥr al-Habshī* up to the limits of habitable world. According to him it is bounded by an unknown land. Some authors have assumed that it has a length of 4,500 *farsakhs* and has as much width. Their opinion is refuted by others. Moreover, there is another consideration which stands in its way. It is that 4,500 *farsakhs* make 18,000 miles (a *farsakh* being equal to four miles and a mile being 3,000 cubits). This means that the *Baḥr al-Habshī*, as reported, occupied $\frac{1}{3}$ th of the surface of the globe, and this is impossible."² The above passage is not explicit and just shows how difficult it sometime is to determine al-Mas'ūdī's ideas completely.

Nowhere do we find al-Mas'ūdī expressing himself in a clear-cut language in this connection. However, if we remove Pacific Ocean from the present world map, erase the Americas altogether, reduce the size of Africa (south of the Equator) by about one third, extend the Atlantic towards North into the Arctic sea and then stretch it towards south, thus completing an oceanic girdle round the Europe-Asia-African landmass and connect the Black sea with the Arctic by a narrow channel, we have a fairly correct picture of the world as conceived by al-Mas'ūdī.

Al-Mas'ūdī gives details regarding the location and size of the seven seas of the East and also of the Mediterranean, the Black sea and the Caspian. In these he practically adopts the ideas of al-Battānī. He discusses at great length and tries to prove that the sea of Azov was connected with the Arctic. But he is the first Arab geographer to give the correct shape of the sea of Aral and the approximate location of the Baltic sea.

1 *Tanbīh*, p. 68.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 51.

Al-Mas'ūdī's ideas regarding the habitable world are more definite. This was natural since he himself had traversed many parts of the then known world. Al-Mas'ūdī divided the habitable lands into three parts. The first part was bounded in the North and West by the Occidental sea (called the *Ocean* by the ancients); to the South by the sea of Egypt and Rūm; to the East by the Tanais and the Lake Meotide. This land was supposed to be an island and was named Europe. The second part of the land stretched towards the south, from the sea of Egypt to the sea of Abyssinia. Its limits were to the West, the Green Sea; to the north, the sea of Egypt and Rūm; to the east, al-'Arīsh and to the south, the sea of Abyssinia. It was named Libya (present N. Africa). The third part contained all that remained of the habitable portion of the globe up to the extremities of the earth. Its limits were, to the west, the Tanais, the gulf (that flows towards Constantinople), the channel al-'Arīsh and Ayla; to the south, the sea of Yemen and India; to the east, the eastern extremity of China. This was named grand Asia. In other words al-Mas'ūdī's habitable world was what we call the old hemisphere north of the Equator.

“These three parts (or continents) include diverse climes (اقاليم), empires and many inhabited cities. The rest of the earth, whether inhabited or uninhabited constitute 11/12th part of the whole. The 1/12th part which contains the habitable portion known to us and which begins at the equator includes seas and deserts. It may be asked whether the other 11/12th portion could contain plants and animals—or to be brief—whether it is inhabited. This query may be answered by analogy and commonsense. The inhabited portion of the earth which is accessible to us does not extend beyond the limits we have indicated; while, about the part which lies beyond, we have not heard so far. But reason and speculation based on induction lead to the conclusion, which cannot be refuted by learned people, that the Sun, the Moon and the stars, as they appear to us and as they move in a way that they are sometimes near and sometimes far off, produce summer and winter, and favour plants, animals, culture and other visible features. Now, if the Sun and the stars appear at different places as they do in our own lands, one can understand that some plants and animals as well as seas and mountains would also be found there exactly as they do with us. There cannot be any difference.” Thus al-Mas'ūdī had an open mind regarding possible lands south of the equator. However, it would be noted that al-Mas'ūdī put the limit of the habitable world a little north of the Black sea and the Caspian.

The Arabs divided the habitable world into climatic regions or

climes (اقاليم) which is basically a division according to the relative length of days and nights. They borrowed this from the Greeks. Ptolemy enumerated 20 climes but the majority of the ancient and medieval writers favoured a division into seven climes which conformed with the ideas of seven *kishwars* of the Persians, the seven *dwipas* of the Indians, the seven planets, the seven earths and seven skies of the Qur'ān. Later, Ibn Sa'īd admitted an eighth clime south of the equator and also a ninth clime of boreal regions, but, in general, Arab geographers, including al-Mas'ūdī, were content with the number seven. Of these the fourth clime was considered the most outstanding since it contained the capitals of ancient and subsequent empires which dominated the then known world. Al-Mas'ūdī speaks of the advantages which distinguished the fourth clime from all others and of the provinces of Babylon which was 'the centre of the earth and the most excellent of all lands—bearing the same relation to the rest of the world as the heart had with the human body'.¹ Obviously, Baghdad the supreme capital of Islam was in this clime. Besides these remarks al-Mas'ūdī added little to what was commonly believed regarding the nature and limits of the climes in his times, e.g. first clime (Lat. 16° 27'—length of day 13 hours); second clime (Lat. 24°—length of day 13½ hours); third clime (30° 22'—length of day 14 hours); fourth clime (36°—length of day 14½ hours); fifth clime (41°—length of day 15 hours); sixth clime (45°—length of day 15½ hours); seventh clime (48°—length of day 16½ hours).

Perhaps the greatest achievement of al-Mas'ūdī as a geographer was his attempt to correlate racial characteristics and human activities with environment. In *Murūj*, he says about the Beduins: "Arabs preferred life in the open country where there was neither obstruction nor harm; where the air was pure, wholesome and free from epidemics, which helped refinement of intelligence, strength of resolution and wisdom."² In *Tanbīh*, al-Mas'ūdī attributes to the northern people good physique, rude behaviour, harsh tongue, white complexion, blue eyes and red hair to humidity of the land and further, he attributes the black complexion and red eyes of the Abyssinians to the excessive heat and low humidity of their country.³

Thus, al-Mas'ūdī takes his stand between mathematical and physical geography, sometimes predominant or exclusive in Arab

1 *Tanbīh*, pp. 35-36.

2 *Murūj*, Vol. III, p. 245.

3 *Tanbīh*, p. 23.

geographical works, and the science of man, which neglects so easily the framework in which man moves and the space in which he lives. He is perhaps the first thinker who insisted on the necessity for a broad view of general conditions on which depend the distribution of man on the earth. His principal merit is that he tried to reintegrate into geography the human element. By that al-Mas'ūdī gave that science a new orientation and stimulus.

AL-MAS'ŪDĪ'S CONCEPTION OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN MAN AND ENVIRONMENT

BY

S. M. ZIAUDDIN ALAVI

Al-Mas'ūdī's conception of the relationship between man and environment was twofold. Firstly, there was the astrological view which considered Man as part of the cosmos, and as such his character and outlook were determined by the ruling stars of that particular environment. Secondly, there was a purely geographical view according to which geographical factors determined human responses.

'Climate' and Character:

In correlating climate with character al-Mas'ūdī follows the then prevalent Greek notions, viz., different climes were under the influence of a planet and moulded the character of its inhabitants according to the characteristics of the planet.¹

The Geographical Environment and Human Activities:

In addition to the above astrological aspect of al-Mas'ūdī's conception of Human Geography we find some observations of a purely geographical character.

While describing the effect of environment on the life and outlook of the people al-Mas'ūdī says: "The powers of the earth vary in their influence on man on account of three causes viz. water, natural vegetation and topography. In the land where water is abundant humidity predominates in the humour of men and where water is absent dryness predominates; again, in the land where vegetation is dense heat prevails, and if the region is devoid of natural vegetation, the reverse is the case."² Further, speaking of the selection of the sites for human habitation, he emphasizes the importance of the nature of the surrounding country, elevations and depressions, nearness to mountains and seas and lastly the nature of the soil.³

1 *Tanbih*, ed. de Goeje, pp. 23; 33-34.

2 *Tanbih*, p. 28.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 29.

The Edaphic Control of Man:

Al-Mas'ūdī's study of the Arab beduins may be cited as an example of his conception of the edaphic influences on the life, character and outlook of the people. "The Arabs," he says, "deemed it desirable for the respectable people to move about the world and to inhabit outlying places. They pondered over the problem of making their homes in cities or in open places and came to the conclusion that life in the city is injurious to health and changes man's nature, the houses and their boundaries prevent him from work, dissuade him from movement, diminish his courage and suppress the urge for progress. They observed that continuous shade from the sun and narrow houses stop nutrition, fresh air and the removal of dirt and dust. It was for these reasons that the Arabs preferred life in the open countryside where there was neither obstruction nor harm, where the air was pure, wholesome and free from epidemics and where there was refinement of intelligence and strength of body, for intelligence, they thought, was produced in the same way as fresh air. The Arabs are therefore, marked by strength of resolution, wisdom and physical fitness. They take care of those whom they take under their protection. They are distinguished in acts of charity and possess intelligence, for these qualities are generated by the purity of environment."¹

In this passage al-Mas'ūdī reveals himself as a close observer of life and an interpreter of the peculiar Arabian characteristics in terms of their geographic environment.

His treatment of the climate and its correlation with the character of its inhabitants, such as that of Egypt, the Yemen and Hejaz is on the same lines as the ideas expressed in the preceding paragraph.²

The Climatic Control:

The earliest observations in this field are those of Ibn Rusta, who attributes the intelligence, morality, good physique and fair complexion of the Babylonians to the temperative climate of their land. In the same way he explains the redness of complexion, the shabbiness of bodies and thick hair of the northern people (Turks) by the excessive cold of their country.³ Similar ideas find echo in the writings of al-Mas'ūdī, who attributes the peculiar characteristics of the northern people like the *Ṣaqāliba* (the Slavs) and the southern people like the *Zanj*

1 *Murūj*, ed. Barbier de Meynard, I, pp. 243-45.

2 *Ibid.*, I, pp. 124-27.

3 Ibn Rusta: *Kitāb al-A'ṭāq al-Nafīsa*, ed. de Goeje. (Leiden 1892), pp. 101-3.

(Abyssinians) to their respective climatic environments. Here are the words of al-Mas'ūdī:

"As for the northern quarter, which is farther away from the sun, in the extreme north, and which is the abode of the *Saqāliba*, the *Afranja* (Franks) and the neighbouring races, and where the influence of the sun is rather alleviated and the region abounds in cold, moisture and snow, the people are characterized by good physique, rude behaviour, slow wit, harsh tongue, white complexion, thick flesh, blue eyes, thin skin, curly and red hair. All these characteristics are found due to the predominance of moisture in their lands, and their cold nature does not encourage firmness of religious belief. Those living farther north are characterized by dullness of mind, harsh behaviour and barbarism. These characteristics increase proportionately as we proceed further north.¹ As for the inhabitants of the southern quarter like the *Zanj* and all the Abyssinians and those lying near the equator and the path of the sun, the condition (in this quarter) is contrary to that mentioned above, on account of the intensity of heat and scarcity of moisture. The people of these regions have black colour, red eyes, and are of wild nature. All this is due to the burning climate and the abundance of heat. It might thus be said that the scorched faces and the curly hair, are the direct outcome of the excessive heat and dry vapours."²

Adaptation to Environment:

In the writings of al-Mas'ūdī we also get a glimpse of his conception of man's adaptation to environment. Speaking of the Turks who migrated to India he points out that they lost their national characteristics and developed new characteristics suited to the new environment. "One group of the sons of 'Āmūr," he says, "came as far as the frontiers of India. The climate of the country influenced its character, so that they are like the Hindus in complexion and not like the Turks."³

Further evidence of his conception of adaptation to environment is to be found in his observations of animals and plants, who adopt the natural colour of the environment in which they dwell or grow.⁴

Thus he believed that environmental changes caused adaptative

1 *Tanbih*, pp. 23-24.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 24.

3 *Murūj*, I, p. 289.

4 *Tanbih*, p. 29; *Murūj*, I, p. 336; cf. S. Maqbul Ahmad, "Al-Mas'ūdī's Contributions to Medieval Arab Geography," *Islamic Culture*, vol. 28, No. 1, 1954, p. 285.

changes in animals and plants, rendering them more suitable for existence in the new environment.

Judging from the modern standpoint, a study of man's relation to geographic environment is really the study of two struggling forces—human effort and resources, on the one side, and the natural environment, on the other. While studying fauna and flora we deal with objects which are mute and submissive to the natural control, but in the study of man we come across a new situation which is marked by a keen struggle for the modification of the environment. Al-Mas'ūdī did not, however, consider it necessary to emphasize this aspect of the study, deeming it, perhaps, self-evident. As a matter of fact it is natural phenomenon which determines the mode of man's activities and the end of his existence. In view of the comparative backwardness of human endeavour in the days of al-Mas'ūdī, his emphasis on the environmental control does not betray his negligence but confirms his scientific and realistic attitude.

AL-MAS'ŪDĪ ON THE KINGS OF INDIA

BY

S. MAQBUL AHMAD

Al-Mas'ūdī visited India in A.D. 915 and stayed here for nearly two years. He travelled extensively in the Konkan region of Maharashtra, Gujarat and Sind.¹ There is no evidence that he visited Malkhed (Ar. *Mānkīr*), the capital of the Rāshtrakūṭa kingdom, but from his description of the kingdom and its rulers it appears that he was able to gather a fairly accurate and trustworthy account of the kingdom. He came to India at a time when the commercial relations of the country with the Arab world were at its best. Large numbers of Arab merchants and sailors visited India and their colonies were found in many parts of the country, specially along the western and the eastern coasts of the Indian peninsula. Al-Mas'ūdī was neither a merchant nor a sailor. He was a scholar and a traveller who had the *wanderlust* in him and whose main aim was to collect first-hand information about the countries he visited. It was this passion for enquiry and investigation that urged him to travel in India.

India was not totally a strange country to al-Mas'ūdī. He had become familiar with it through the current Arabic literature on India both in the form of original Arabic works and translations from Sanskrit. Besides, on his arrival he found the atmosphere favourable and congenial to him. Besides the number of Arab settlements and Muslim communities found in the main ports, the Rāshtrakūṭa rulers displayed a very friendly and cordial attitude towards the Arabs. Their life and property was protected and they were allowed complete freedom of worship. Such a treatment on the part of the Rāshtrakūṭas had deeply impressed the Arabs and hence their accounts of India are full of praise and admiration for these princes.² Such an attitude must have arisen from the Rāshtrakūṭas' considering the Muslims as allies against the Gūjjara-Pratīhāras of the north who were inimical to the Arabs of Sind, and from the presence of large numbers of Muslims living in their kingdom.³

1 On the travels of al-Mas'ūdī, see my article in *I.C.*, vol. xxviii, 1954, pp. 510-12.

2 Cf. *Murūj*, I, p. 382; Sulaymān, *Akhbār*, p. 12; *Ist.*, p. 176; I. Hauqal, p. 320.

3 See BALHARA' in the *E.I.*

On the whole al-Mas'ūdī utilized his sojourn in India very usefully and collected valuable information about the people, their habits and customs, history and thought, which is preserved in his extant works. The nature of this information reveals on his part close observation and a critical examination of his experiences in India. Being an intelligent person and a sound historian, he did not accept all information at its face value. He made enquiries and investigations about the theories and notions which to him were of doubtful authenticity and even challenged serious theories propounded by Greek or Arab scientists and philosophers. However, he has recorded his own results of investigation.¹

The account of India is found in a scattered form in the works of al-Mas'ūdī, which it is not possible to present here in its entirety. I have, therefore, selected the information relating to the Indian kings only, which for convenience's sake, may be divided into two broad sections: 1. *The ancient kings*; 2. *The contemporary kings*. It is difficult to trace the sources of al-Mas'ūdī's knowledge with regard to the list of kings presented in the first section. However, there is little doubt that he copied it from an earlier Arabic source. He mentions having consulted two works on India: 1. *Kitāb 'Uyūn al-Masā'il wa 'l-Jawābāt* by Abu 'l-Qāsim al-Balkhī and 2. *Kitāb al-Ārā' wa 'l-Diyānāt* by Ḥasan b. Mūsā al-Naubakhtī.² But as for his account of the contemporary kings of India, he seems to have collected his material either in India personally or from Abū Zayd Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan whom he met at Baṣra twice, once before his journey to India and a second time after he had already been to India. Abū Zayd was also interested in collecting information about India and China from the merchants and sailors who visited these countries. He himself had never travelled to these countries, but he was in possession of a copy of the account of merchant Sulaymān's travels in India and China. He ascertained the date of this account as A.H. 237/A.D. 851 and

- 1 He criticized 'Amr b. Baḥr al-Jāḥiẓ for believing that the Indus originated from the Nile since crocodiles were found in this river also (*Murūj*, I, pp. 206-208; *al-Tanbīh*, p. 55). He did not support the view of Ptolemy that there was an unknown land in the southern hemisphere for he had been told by the captains of boats and sailors that the Indian Ocean (*the Abyssinian Sea*) had no limits towards the south (*Murūj*, I, pp. 281-282; see my article 'Al-Mas'ūdī's Contributions to Medieval Arab Geography' in *I.C.*, vol. xxvii, 1953, p. 68; cf. *al-Tanbīh*, pp. 51, 70).
- 2 *Murūj*, I, pp. 156-57. Muḥammad Ḥasan b. Mūsā Naubakhtī (d. *cir.* 300-310/912-922) was a contemporary of al-Mas'ūdī. About his book Minorsky says that only some quotations have survived, and among them are two passages on Indian religions, the one (abridged and confused) on the adepts of Vasudeva and the other on the austerities practised by Indians (Minorsky, *Marvazī*, p. 129).

verified its contents from the travellers he met.¹ Al-Mas'ūdī exchanged information with him and seemed to have borrowed some of Sulaymān's material from him, which accounts for the common passages in al-Mas'ūdī and Sulaymān.²

I. THE ANCIENT KINGS

"Al-Mas'ūdī says: A group of the people of insight and investigation, who have devoted their attention to and contemplated over the nature and origin of this world, have stated that in the ancient times the Indians were the people endowed with righteousness and sagacity, and when the nations began to spring and parties began to grow, the Indians desired to give (some form) of unity to the kingdom and to overpower its seat so that they may become the rulers. Hence, their leaders declared: 'We were the people of origin; the end and the ultimate object lies with us; for us is the beginning and the end. It was from amongst us that the father originated and traversed the earth. We overpower and annihilate anyone who impedes us or rebels or contrives against us, unless he, once again, becomes obedient'. Having fixed this objective for themselves, they appointed a king over themselves, namely, the great *al-Brahman*, who is the greatest of the kings and the foremost *imāns* among them. During his reign wisdom blossomed and the learned men took the lead. They extracted iron from the mines, and swords, daggers and a variety of the implements of war were manufactured. He constructed lofty monuments and embellished them with illuminating precious stones, wherein the Spheres, the Twelve Signs of the Zodiac and the Planets were depicted. He demonstrated pictorially the nature of the Universe and explained with the help of pictures the nature of the influence of the Planets upon this world and the way they cause the appearance of animal bodies belonging to the intelligent and other categories. He also explained the state of the supreme ruler, namely, the Sun. He recorded the evidence of all these (questions) in a book. Thus, these (questions) became perceptible to the intelligence of the common people and the knowledge of the superior being became implanted in the souls of the *élite*. He gave an indication of the Prime Being who gives the whole universe its existence and is profusely generous to it. So, the Indians followed

1 For the account of merchant Sulaymān written in A.D. 851 and completed by Abū Zayd towards A.D. 915 see *Relation des voyages faits par les Arabes et les Persans dans l'Inde et à la Chine*, Ar. text by Langlès (1811) and French translation and commentary by M. Reinaud, 2 vols., Paris, 1845.

2 Sulaymān's account was translated into French by M. Ferrand: *Voyages du marchand arabe Suleyman*, Paris, 1922; latest French tr. and commentary by M. Jean Souvaget: *Relation de la Chine et de l'Inde (Akhbār al-Sīn wa 'l-Hind)*, Paris, 1948.

him and the country became prosperous ; he guided them to the path of worldly welfare.”¹

“ It was during his reign that the men of wisdom collected together and produced the treatise entitled *al-Sindhind*, which means ‘the time of times’.² From this work were derived other works like *al-Arjabhad*³ and *al-Majastī*.⁴ From *al-Arjabhad* was derived *al-Arkand*⁵ and from *al-Majastī* the *Book of Ptolemy*. From this the later astronomical tables were worked out. Then, they invented the nine numerals encompassing Indian numerical system. He (*al-Brahman*) was the first to define the apogee of the Sun. He stated that the Sun stays in each Sign of the Zodiac for three thousand years and traverses the whole Sphere in thirty-six thousand years. According to the Brahmans the apogee of

1 *Murūj*, I, pp. 148-150.

2 Cf. *al-Tanbih*, p. 220. Al-Mas‘ūdī says that Ptolemy compared it with his own and those of Hipparchus’ astronomical observations and used it in his own defence. It comprised one thousand parts. This work may be identified with the old *Sūrya Siddhanta* and not with *Brahma-sphuṭa-siddhānta* as suggested by some scholars (see *Imperial Kanauj*, p. 449). Varāhamihira, who probably wrote in c. 550 A.D., has preserved in his *Pañcasiddhāntikā* information of the contents of five Siddhāntas of an earlier date. Of these the *Paitāmaha* belonged to the pre-scientific period, but the other four, namely, *Romaka*, *Pauliṣa*, *Sūrya* and *Vasiṣṭa*, in various degrees showed a new spirit, ‘which it is impossible not to ascribe to Greek influence.’ The probable period of the reception of the *Romaka Siddhānta* (between A.D. 300-500) accords with the period when the Gupta empire was showing many signs of contact with the Roman empire in other spheres of activity, and the Sassanian dynasty’s rule may have promoted intercourse. (Keith, *Sanskrit Literature*, pp. 517-521; cf. *Classical Age*, pp. 321, 323). The *Sūrya Siddhanta* was brought to Baghdad in A.D. 771 and was translated by Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Fazārī (see Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, p. 373).

3 Cf. *al-Tanbih*, p. 220; *al-Arjabhad*. It was worked out from *al-Sindhind* and formed one of the thousand parts of *al-Sindhind*. This refers to *Aryabhaṭīya* by Āryabhaṭa of Kusumapura, born in A.D. 476. It is preserved in the shape of ten stanzas in Āryā verses. Āryabhaṭa wrote in A.D. 499 (Keith, *op. cit.*, p. 521; cf. *Classical Age*, p. 322).

4 This is the *Almagest* of Claudius Ptolemy, the Greek astronomer who flourished in Egypt in the second century A.D. (c. A.D. 90-168). An early translation of *Almagest* into Arabic was followed by two superior ones: the one by al-Hajjāj b. Maṭar completed in A.D. 827-28 and the other by Hunayn b. Ishāq revised by Thābit b. Qurra (A.D. 901) (Hitti, *op. cit.*, p. 373).

5 Cf. *al-Tanbih*, p. 220: *Al-Arkand* was derived from *al-Arjabhad*. This is the *Khaṇḍakhādya* of Brahmagupta son of Jisṇu of Bhīllamāla (near Multan). He was born in A.D. 598 and in 665 he wrote his *Khaṇḍakhādya*, a *Karaṇa*, that is, a practical treatise giving material in a convenient shape for astronomical calculations, but this was based on a lost work of

the Sun at present in our own time, which is the year A.H. 332,¹ lies in the Zodiac of the Twin, and when it (Sun) passes into the southern Signs of the Zodiac, the habitation changes its character accordingly; the inhabited regions turn barren and the barren ones become inhabited; north changes into south and the south into north. He recorded in *the House of Gold*² calculations pertaining to the Prime Being as well as the most ancient history, which the Indians used as the basis for the study of the history of the origins and their appearance in India and in other countries. The Indians have long discourses on the origins (of things) which we have avoided to mention here, for this book of ours is a book on history and not of investigation and insight."³ Al-Mas'ūdī says that some Indians believe that the world renews itself every *hāzarwān*, i.e. every 70,000 years. When the world completes this period of time, the animal, vegetable and mineral (kingdoms) are regenerated and acquire growth and movement. But the majority of the Indians, he says, believe in a succession of diminishing *cycles* possessing force. For this whole process they have fixed a certain period. The *largest circle, the greatest event* is called by them *the life of the world*. The time lapse between the starting point and the finish as fixed by them is 36,000 years × 12,000 years (= 32,000,000 years),⁴ This, according to their conception, is the *hāzarwān*, which controls the forces of things and regulates them. Again, they believe that these cycles contract and expand all the qualities deposited in them, and that life lengthens during the first cycle due to the expansion of the circle and shortens in the last one due to its contraction.⁵

"Thus, the rule of *al-Brahman* lasted for 366 years until his death.⁶ His descendants are called *al-Barāhima* (after him) until our own times.

Aryabhata, who again agreed with the *Sūrya Siddhānta* (Keith, *op. cit.*, p. 522). According to C. Nallino, the actual historical order of the works cited by al-Mas'ūdī should be *Almagest*, *Āryabhaṭīya*, *Sūrya Siddhānta* and *Khandakhadyaka*, but it seems to me that the order given by him, namely, *Sūrya Siddhānta*, *Āryabhaṭīya* and *Khandakhadyaka*, is roughly correct, except that the *Almagest* is placed after *Sūrya Siddhānta*, but this is a moot point. The exact mode and date of the introduction of the Greek elements into Indian astronomy has been disputed (For a fuller discussion see Keith, *op. cit.*, pp. 519-520).

1 This corresponds to A.D. 943.

2 This refers to Multan. Cf. *al-Tanbih*, p. 55.

3 *Murūj*, I, pp. 150-151.

4 The more correct figure is 4,320,000,000 solar years as given in *al-Tanbih*, p. 221.

5 *Murūj*, I, pp. 151-152; cf. *al-Tanbih*, pp. 220-222.

6 It would be of interest here to note that in the astronomical works produced

The Indians venerate them and they are the highest and the most noble of their castes. They refrain from eating animals and both men and women among them wear yellow threads around their necks, hanging them like scabbards of swords as a mark of distinction from the other castes of India.”¹ “There is difference of opinion about the identification of *al-Brahman*. Some people claim that he is Adam and a messenger of God sent to India. Others assert that he was a king as stated by us above, and this is the most popular (belief).”²

After *al-Brahman* his eldest son *al-Bāhbūd* became the king of India. He ruled for one hundred years. He encouraged the study of philosophy and gave the philosophers the foremost place in the country. During his reign backgammon was invented. He was followed by *Zāmān*³ who ruled for one hundred and fifty years. He fought many battles with the Persians and the Chinese, the details of which *al-Mas‘ūdī*

at the close of the Vedic period, we find a calendar arranged on the basis of a five year Yuga, with a 366-day year, notices of the position of the sun and the moon at the solstices, and at new and full moon with regard to the Nakṣatras (Keith, *op. cit.*, p. 516). The astronomical works of the Vedic or the pre-scientific period, contribute, in the opinion of Keith, two ideas of great importance, if of no value: the conception of great Yugas, during which a complete change of the heavenly bodies is carried out, so that a new Yuga begins with all of them in the same places as the preceding Yuga (this probably is the *hāzarwān* of *al-Mas‘ūdī*, the correct reading would be *haṣārwan*, meaning ‘the thousandth’); and the conception of the lunar day, Tithi (see Keith, *op. cit.*, p. 517).

- 1 *Murūj*, I, p. 154. This refers to the sacred thread worn by them.
- 2 *Murūj*, I, p. 157. There is little doubt that *al-Mas‘ūdī* has borrowed his information on *al-Brahman* and on the subsequent kings belonging to this list from an earlier source, for later on referring to *Balhūt* he says, ‘but in some manuscripts it is mentioned that he ruled for one hundred and thirty years’. However, the whole account is an admixture of legend and history and a chronological confusion. It would be fruitless to try to identify *al-Brahman* with any of the emperors of the Gupta period, to which the whole account seems to pertain to. *Al-Brahman* taken as “Adam and a messenger of God sent to India” may be identified with *Brahmā* the first of created things (See Tara Chand, *Influence of Islam*, pp. 2-3). *Al-Bīrūnī* mentions *Pitamaha* as *Brahma*, the First Father (*Alberui’s India*, pp. 73, 183). But it is more likely that the reputation and the personality of the famous astronomer Brahmagupta is preserved in the form of *al-Mas‘ūdī*’s *al-Brahman*, and the references to the latter’s contributions to astronomy and astrology may actually pertain to Brahmagupta. Again, *Multān* is mentioned as the centre of *al-Brahman*’s activities and the place where Brahmagupta worked was *Bhillamāla*, near *Multān*.
- 3 *Barbier de Meynard* suggests ‘Ramah’ (*Murūj*, I, p. 158). Could this monarch be identified with *Rāma-Gupta*, although he is not considered to be an historical figure? However, his war against the Śaka king as

says, he gave in his earlier works. *Zāmān* was succeeded by *Fūr*¹ who was attacked and killed in a duel by Alexander the Great. He ruled for one hundred and forty years. He was succeeded by *Dhshlam*, the author of *Kalīla wa Dimna*, translated by Ibn al-Muqaffa' (into Arabic). He ruled for one hundred and ten years and according to some for a different period.²

He was succeeded by *Balhīt*,³ during whose reign chess was invented, which he preferred to backgammon. During this period the game of chess reached its zenith. The rule of this king lasted for eighty years until his death, but in some manuscripts it is mentioned that he

commemorated in a drama and the defeat that he suffered might have given him a legendary personality, and it is not unlikely that the literary references to the wars of Chandra-gupta II with the Śaka king in connection with the episode of Rāṣṭra-gupta contain an echo of Chandra-gupta's victories over the Śaka ruler of Gujarat and Kathiawar Rudrasimha III in the first decade of the 5th century A.D. Chandra-gupta presumably also conquered the country of Balkh beyond the Hindu Kush mountain and defeated the Kushānas who ruled in this region (see *Classical Age*, pp. 17-21).

- 1 Cf. *al-Tanbih*, p. 86, where al-Masūdī says that *Fūr* met Alexander on the banks of the Ganges. This refers to King Porus who was defeated by Alexander the Great on the bank of the Hydaspes (now Jhelum) in 326 B.C., but was not killed as stated by al-Masūdī (For a full description of the battle, see Bury, *History of Greece*, pp. 802-807).
- 2 *Murūj*, I, pp. 157-59. *Kalīla wa Dimna* was based on the *Pañcatantra*. During the reign of Nūshīrwān (A.D. 531-79), Buzurjmihr was specially sent to India (Ganges) to procure a copy of the *Fables of Bidpai* also known as *Kalīla wa Dimna*. He procured this book and the game of chess, and translated the work into Pahlawi in c. 750 A.D. The title of the work was derived from Karātaka and Damanaka, the two jackals who figure in the first book of *Pañcatantra* (see Keith, *op. cit.*, pp. 357-358; Elgood, *Medical History*, pp. 51-52; Browne, *Literary History*, I, p. 110). According to Keith the original version of the *Pañcatantra* was produced during the period of the Brahmanical restoration and expansion under the Guptas or just before their empire. As for the author, he says that it may reasonably be accepted that he was a Brahman, but the name Visnuçarman as given in the text cannot be relied on, though it is impossible to dismiss it as certainly forged. If his authorship is accepted, then the work may have originated in the south for he is described as relating the tales to the sons of the king Amaracakti of Mahālarōpya or Mīhālarōpya in the Deccan (Keith, *op. cit.*, pp. 248 sqq.; cf. *Classical Age*, pp. 313-314). Al-Masūdī's *Dhshlam* may not be a king; the name may be a corrupt form of *Viṣṇu*, the second part *carman* being dropped out. Thus, it may be the name of the relator of the stories, but this is a mere conjecture.
- 3 *Murūj*, I, p. 159. According to al-Masūdī, *Balhīt* composed a book on chess entitled *Ṭarāq Jankū*. I have not been able to identify this work, but as has been noticed above, chess was taken to Iran by Buzurjmihr during the reign of nūshīrwān (A.D. 531-579). This was a period of the disintegration of the Gupta empire in India. Budh-gupta's brother Narasimha-

ruled for one hundred and thirty years. He was succeeded by *Kōrash*,¹ who, considering it expedient and in accordance with the requirements of the people of his time, introduced new religious sects among the Indian people and himself abandoned the religion of his predecessors. *Sindbād*, the author of 'The Book of Seven Ministers, the Master, the Youth and the Lady', entitled *Kitāb al-Sindhind*,² lived during the reign of this monarch. The great book on 'diagnoses of diseases and their treatment'³ was also composed during his time. He ruled for one

gupta, his son and grandson ruled between A.D. 500 and 570. Narasimha-gupta after becoming the king, assumed the title of *Bālāditya* (*Classical Age*, pp. 33-34). Hiuen Tsang refers to *Bālāditya* as king of Magadha, which seems to be a correct description of the emperor Narasimha-gupta (*Ibid.*, pp. 43-45). *Bālāditya* resembles very closely the name *Balhīt*, given by al-Mas'ūdī. It could be read as *Balahīt* and the letter 'd' (*dāl*) of Arabic could easily be mistaken for 'h' by a copyist. Hence, it is likely that *Bālāditya* may have changed into *Balahit* (*ya*). Besides, the fact that a foreign traveller refers to him with his title and not with his name is also an indication that the *Balhīt* of al-Mas'ūdī may be the emperor Narasimha-gupta.

- 1 *Murūj*, I, pp. 161-162. Barbier de Meynard suggests the identification of this name with 'Harsha'. If we identify *Kōrash* with Harshavardhana, who ascended the throne in A.D. 606 and died probably about the year 647 A.D. then al-Mas'ūdī's reference to his introduction of new religious sects may pertain to the favour Harsha showed to Buddhism and to his interest in holding polemics on different sects and religions (see *Classical Age*, pp. 113-121). Whether al-Mas'ūdī's statement that 'he abandoned the religion of his predecessor' refers to the diminishing enthusiasm of the emperor towards Śaivas and to an increasing zeal for Buddhism is a point that needs further investigation. As to the springing up of petty kingdoms and principalities after *Kōrash*, it may be pointed out that although powerful dynasties like the Gūrjara-Pratihāras and the Rāshtrakūṭas rose to supremacy at different periods after Harsha, the death of Harsha not only brought about the end of 'the mighty empire founded by his prowess and ability', but immediately after his death a period of anarchy and confusion followed which resulted in the establishment of petty dynastic rules on the ruins of his empire, although this period may be considered as merely transitional. (On Harsha, see *Classical Age*, pp. 121-24).
- 2 This work corresponds to the Persian *Sindbādnāmeḥ*, the Arabic 'Seven Viziers', etc. The plan of the work is taken from *Pañcatantara* (Keith, *op. cit.*, p. 360). The story is added as a note in *The Thousand and One Nights* under the title: 'Abstract of the story of the King and his Son and the Damsel and the Seven Wezeers'. See Lane, III, pp. 145-167. It is interesting to note that al-Mas'ūdī mentions *Kitāb al-Sindbād* as a separate and distinct work from *Alf Layla wa Layla*, the translation of *Hazār Afsāne* (*Murūj*, IV, p. 9). The first draft of *Alf Layla wa Layla* was prepared by al-Jahshiyārī (942) and was based on the Persian *Hazār Afsāna* containing several stories of Indian origins (Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, p. 404).
- 3 The description of the work of Suçruta as given by Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a (*Uyūn*, p. 32) seems to agree with the contents of the work described by

hundred and twenty years until his death. On his death Indians became divided in their opinions, so different groups and communities appeared, and each region was occupied by a separate chief. Thus, Sind, Qinnauj, Qashmir and the city of *Mānkīr* (Malkhed) were each occupied by a separate king.

II. THE CONTEMPORARY KINGS

Al-Balharay:

According to al-Mas'ūdī *al-Balharay* was the first Indian King. This title, namely, *al-Balharay* was used by all the subsequent kings of India until his own times.¹ He was the greatest king of India and most of the Indian kings accepted his suzerainty and respected his envoys. He possessed large armies and innumerable elephants. Most of his army consisted of the infantry because the capital of the kingdom was surrounded by mountains.² He says, "The language of al-Sind is different from the language of al-Hind. Sind comes after the land of Islam, and then follows al-Hind. The language of the inhabitants of

al-Mas'ūdī. Sūgruta's name appears in the Bower Manuscript, while the Mahābhārata represents him to be a son of Viśrāmītra, and Nāgārjuna is credited with having worked over his text. Moreover, like Caraka, he won fame beyond India, for in the 9th and 10th centuries he was renowned both in Combeeda in the East and Arabia in the West (Keith, *op. cit.*, p. 507). The Bower Manuscript can be referred with certainty to the fourth century A.D. (*Ibid.*, p. 509). The *Sāmhitā* of Sūgruta begins with general questions, then pathology is developed; then it covers anatomy and embryology; then therapeutics; toxicology, and the Uttarantra, which is clearly a later addition, supplements the work (Keith, *op. cit.*, pp. 507-508). Although the date of the work of Vpādha Vāgbhata, another great name in medical science, may, in all probability, be placed in about the beginning of the 7th century A.D., and this would perfectly concur with the period of Harsha-Vardhana, yet this work does not seem to be the one referred to by al-Mas'ūdī, for it is partly in prose and partly in verse (see Keith, *op. cit.*, p. 510; cf. *Classical Age*, pp. 320-21).

- 1 *Murūj*, I, p. 162. *Al-Balharay* is Ballahrāya, Prakrit form of 'Vallabha-rāja', meaning 'the beloved king'. It represented the title of the Rāshtrakūṭa rulers of the Deccan (c. A.D. 753-975), whose capital was at *Malgakheta*, now Malkhed, south of Gulbarga. Al-Mas'ūdī's *al-Balharay* may be identified with Indra III of this dynasty (A.D. 914-922) (see my article 'BALHARA' in *E.I.*). It is incorrect to identify *al-Balharay* with 'The Valabhi ruler of Gujrat' (Tara Chand, *op. cit.*, p. 45).
- 2 *Murūj*, I, pp. 177-78. The Rāshtrakūṭa Amoghavarsha I who ascended the throne in A.D. 814 and died about A.D. 878, claims that he was worshipped by the king of Malva (*Imperial Kanauj*, p. 94).

Mānkīr, the capital of the kingdom of *al-Balharay*, is *Kirīya*,¹ so called after the region called *Karah*, and the language of his coastal (territories) like *Simūr*, *Sūbāra* and *Tāna* and of the other coastal towns, is *Lārīya*. Their country is known after the above-mentioned *Sea of Lāravī* along which they live.”² Then he says: “There is not a king in al-Sind or al-Hind who protects the Muslims in his kingdom as does *al-Balharay*. Islam is loved and protected in his kingdom; there are ordinary and Friday mosques for them (Muslims) where they assemble for the five prayers. Each of these princes rules for forty, fifty or even a greater number of years, and the subjects of his kingdom claim that the reigns of these rulers last for such long periods due to their practice of the tradition of justice and their veneration of the Muslims. The king maintains his armies from his Treasury like the practice of the Muslims with their armies. In this kingdom they use the *Tātārī dirhams*,³ each of which is equal to one and a half *dirham* in weight according to his currency. (They fix their calender from the date of the death of the preceding monarch). He has an unlimited number of war elephants. His country is also called *al-Kumkar* (* al-Kunkan); the king of *al-Juzr* (* *al-Jurz*) wars against them on one of the frontiers of his kingdom.”⁴

- 1 The reading in the text is: كيرية, but most probably the correct reading is كنرية, the Kannada language. The region *Karah* may be identified with Kannada.
- 2 *Murūj*, I, p. 381. *Simūr* is Chaul in the Kolaba district; *Sūbāra* is Sopara near Bassein in the Thana district; and *Tāna* is Thana in Bombay (see Minorsky, *H. A.*, p. 245). *Lārīya* would be ‘of *Lara* (*Lāṭa*)’. This language may be identified with an early form of Prakrit. The people of *Lāṭa* “spoke elegant Prakrit in a beautiful way. Its women were noted for their beauty and elegance of speech. Its poets possessed distinctive literary traits; and favoured the style called ‘*Lāṭi*’. Humour was its speciality.” (Munshi, *Gūṛjara Deśa*, I, p. 136). It is interesting to note that the region Konkan, to which al-Mas‘ūdī has referred and where this form of Prakrit was spoken, is now predominantly, a Marathi speaking area and is a part of the new state of Maharashtra. The *Sea of Lāravī* was the second of the ‘seven seas’ described by Arab geographers. According to al-Mas‘ūdī it stretched from Ra’s al-Jumjuma to the Laccadive Islands, and also included in it the *Sea of Zanj*, off the northern parts of the coast of East Africa (*Murūj*, I, pp. 332-3, 335). It roughly coincided with the Arabian Sea.
- 3 The text has طاهرية which is a corruption of طاطرية derived from the Greek *Tetradrachma* (see De Goeje, *Indices*, p. 286). The usual weight of the *dirham* in the days of Islam was 2.97 grammes (see *E. I.*, old edition, ‘*Dirham*’).
- 4 This whole passage (*Murūj*, I, pp. 382-83) seems to have been borrowed from Sulaymān, *Akhbār*, p. 12, except the portion which pertains to the maintenance of armies by the king. Sulaymān’s information on this subject is different. He says that the Indian kings do not maintain armies.

Al-Mas'ūdī visited Cambay in A.H. 303/A.D. 915. He says that at the time of his visit the governor of this place was a Brahman by the name of *Bāniyā* who ruled on behalf of *al-Balharay*. He was keenly interested in religious discussions with Muslims and people of other denominations who visited his land.¹

Whenever the king gives them a call to war, they respond, but they maintain themselves with their own wealth. The king bears no responsibility in this respect (*Abū'l-Līz*, p. 26). If al-Mas'ūdī's information is taken as an evidence then it may be assumed that the Rāshtrakūṭa Indra III maintained a standing army financed by the central treasury of the monarch. In the maintenance of a standing army, perhaps, lay the secret of the success of Indra against the Gūjjara-Pratihāras. However, the role of the great feudatory families in administration and wars was by no means unimportant (*Imperial Kanauj*, p. 245).

With regard to the calendar, the text in al-Mas'ūdī seems to be faulty. It reads: *و تاريخ مملكته*, whereas in Sulaymān, p. 12, we have: *و تاريخه في سنة من مملكته (وفاة) من كان قبله*.

The text in Sulaymān makes the sense clearer, namely, that the date of the reign is fixed from the date of the death of the previous ruler. I have, therefore, translated in accordance with Sulaymān's text.

Al-Mas'ūdī's statement that his country is also called *al-Kunkan* (Kunkan) is incorrect, for we learn from Sulaymān, p. 12, that the kingdom of *Balahrū* started from the sea-coast, called *Kunkam*. In other words Kunkan formed the western limit of the Rāshtrakūṭa empire.

- 1 *Muvāṭṭa*, I, pp. 253-54. It is unlikely that the local ruler of Cambay, which formed a part of Lāṭa belonged to the Lāṭa branch of the Rāshtrakūṭa dynasty. The Lāṭa branch seems to have come to an end shortly after the advance of Mihira Bhōja against the territory. The last ruler of this branch Krishnarāja is known to have been on the throne till at least A.D. 888, but no successor of his is so far known. Whether he died without leaving any issue, leading to the lapse of his kingdom, or whether there was a further war between the main dynasty and the Lāṭa branch which wiped out the existence of the latter, we do not know. (See *Imperial Kanauj*, p. 121). Nainar has wrongly identified this *al-Balharay* of al-Mas'ūdī with Govinda IV (*Arch. Geographica*, p. 125). Actually, it was Indra III who was ruling the Rāshtrakūṭa empire (ascended the throne in A.D. 914) when al-Mas'ūdī visited Cambay. The Kapadvanj grant of Krishna II, dated A.D. 910, shows that Prachandā, of the Brahmāvaloka house, was the military governor of Khetaka-maṇḍala, of which modern Kaira appears to be the northern outpost. In A.D. 915 Krishna's successor, Indra III, granted villages in Navasari district to some Kanarese Brāhmanas (*Munshi, Gujara Desā*, I, p. 140). One is tempted to identify al-Mas'ūdī's "Bāniyā, a Brahman" (the term Bāniyā is applied to the merchant class in Gujarat and other places) with "Prachandā of Brahmāvaloka" mentioned in the grant, which would mean that Prachandā was the military governor of this region till at least A.D. 915, the date of al-Mas'ūdī's visit to Cambay. Soon after his accession to the throne, Indra III, had declared war on the Gūjjara-Pratihāra emperor Mahipala. He conducted his campaign against the Pratihāras some time

In A.H. 304/A.D. 916 al-Mas'ūdī visited Chaul (*Ṣīmūr*) forming a part of the Lata country in the kingdom of *al-Balharay*. He says: "The ruler of *Ṣīmūr* at this time was a person known as *Jānj*,¹ and there were here at this time ten thousand *bayāsira* Muslim inhabitants. Besides, there were a number of people from *Sīrāf*, 'Umān, Baṣra, Baghdad and other cities who had settled down in and become inhabitants of these lands. Among them were prominent merchants like Mūsa b. Ishāq al-Ṣandālūnī and at the head (*al-hazmat*) of the Muslim community at this time was Abū Ṣa'īd Ma'rūf b. Zakariyā. By (the designation) *al-hazmat* is meant the head of the Muslims. This is because the king appoints one of the Muslim chiefs as the head of the community and their affairs are referred to him. By *al-bayāsira* is meant the people who are born of Muslims in India and they are called by this name. The singular is *baysar*."²

Ba'ūra, the king of Qinnauj; al-Juzr (al-Jurz):*

Al-Mas'ūdī says that after the death of *Kōrash*³ different kingdoms were established by different rulers in India and one of the kings established his rule in the land of *Qinnauj*.⁴ Then he says: "One of the kings of India who had no (access to the) sea and whose kingdom is adjacent to that of *al-Balharay's*, is *Ba'ūra*,⁵ the ruler of the city of

between A.D. 915 and 918, and about A.D. 916, marched upon Kanauj and occupied it. However, the Rāshtrakūṭas did not stay long enough in the north to consolidate their conquests (*Imperial Kanauj*, pp. 35-36).

- 1 He could have either been a local ruler appointed by the Rāshtrakūṭas or a feudatory of Indra III. It is unlikely that this *Jānj*, which seems to be an Arabicised form of *Gangā* or *Gānga*, belonged to the great feudatory family of the Gaṅgas of Gaṅgavāḍi, which was further south. Another possibility is that he may have belonged to the family of the Śilāhāras, the feudatories of the Rāshtrakūṭas in the southern Konkan region (*Imperial Kanauj*, pp. 3, 245). But I am inclined to identify *Jānj* with "*gāvunḍa*", which represented the designation of a high official in the administrative system of the Rāshtrakūṭas. The office of the county-*gāvunḍa* was one of high authority and dignity and he, simply or jointly, with other *gāvunḍas*, enjoyed powers of endowment of lands, transfer of revenues, etc. This system, however, prevailed in the Kannāḍa region and we are here concerned with the Konkan region where towns were in charge of *purapatis* and *nagarapatis* (*Imperial Kanauj*, p. 245).
- 2 *Murūj*, II, pp. 85-86. I have not been able to trace the origin of the word *baysar*.
- 3 Tentatively identified with Harsha-varḍhana. See discussion above.
- 4 *Murūj*, I, p. 162,
- 5 *Murūj*, I, pp. 178, 207; cf. *al-Tanbīh*, p. 55, note (a): variant: بروره. Munshi has suggested the identification of *Ba'ūra* with Mihira Bhoja, the great, of the Gūrjara Pratihāra dynasty, who died about A.D. 885. In his

Qinnauj. This is a title possessed by every king who becomes the ruler of this kingdom. His armies are garrisoned in the north, south, east and west, for in each of these directions he encounters a king warring against him." "The king of *Qinnauj*, who is one of the kings of Sind, is *Ba'ūra*. This is the title of every king who rules *Qinnauj*. In that region there is a town called *Ba'ūra* (named) after the title of the kings, but now it has become a part of the territory of Islam forming a district of Multān. From this town rises one of the rivers which after joining with others, forms the *Mihrān* of Sind... This *Ba'ūra*, who is the king of *Qinnauj*, is an adversary of *al-Balharay*, the king of India."¹ "As for the area of the kingdom of *Ba'ūra*, who is the king of *Qinnauj*, it is about 120 by 120 *sindī farsakhs*, each *farsakh* being eight current miles.² This king whom we have described earlier has four (divisions of) armies in accordance with the directions of the four winds. Each army consists of 700,000 and according to some 900,000 men. With the army of the north he fights against the ruler of Multān and other Muslims who align themselves with him on this frontier; with the army of the south he fights against the kings who encounter him in every direction. It is said that his kingdom, covering the area that we have mentioned, comprises, as far as it can be enumerated 1,800,000 'villages', cities and rural towns with trees, rivers, mountains and fields. As compared to other kings he possesses few elephants, but he has two thousand trained elephants for his wars."³

opinion the word is most probably 'Bhuja', and if the form in the MSS is *Ba'ūra*, then it is more likely the mis-pronunciation of 'Adi-Varaha', spoken as 'Baraha', the epithet by which Bhoja was known. He points out that although al-Mas'ūdī came to India during the first decade of the 10th century A.D., when the great Bhoja was dead, his description of *Ba'ūra* fits Mihira Bhoja so well that it is probable that the traveller was describing him and not Mahendrapala *Gūjara Dēśa*, I. p. 1161. The anonymous author of *Hudūd al-'Ālam* mentions a town 'Bīrūza' and says that it was within the limits of Multān in Hindustān. All the merchandise of Hindustān comes there and in it are idol-temples. Minorsky has identified this town with *B'rūza* (برؤزا) of al-Mas'ūdī which, he says, Marquart has restored after the Leiden codex. He says, 'If we keep to our texts, Bīrūza lay in Panjab, and Ray, *o.c.*, p. 16 and Map I. places it, with some probability, in the neighbourhood of the Sutlej for the Panjab river flowing past Bīrūza is likely to be the one nearest to the system of the Ganges, where the kings of Qinnauj were at home'. (Minorsky, *H.A.*, p. 253). See also *ibid.* pp. 72-210. From the description of the author of *Hudūd* it seems that Bīrūza was a flourishing commercial town at the end of the 10th century A.D. (The text of *Hudūd* was begun in A.D. 982).

1 *Murūj*, I, p. 372.

2 This refers to the Arabian mile (=6,474 ft.).

3 *Murūj*, I, pp. 374-75.

“The king of *al-Jurz*¹ wars against *al-Balharay* on one of the frontiers of his kingdom. This king possesses numerous horses, camels and armies; it is asserted that none of the kings of the world is as glorious as he is with the exception of the ruler of ‘the clime of Babylon’, the fourth clime.² The reason is that this king exercises power and authority over the rest of the kings. He is at the same time loathful of the Muslims. He has a large number of elephants and his kingdom is situated in a tongue of the earth.³ In his land there are mines of gold and silver, which the people use in their commercial dealings.”

Al-Ṭāfan (**Al-Ṭāqā*):

The kingdom of *al-Ṭāfan* (**al-Ṭāqā*), according to al-Mas‘ūdī, was situated in the mountains and had no (access to the) sea.⁴ He says: “Next to this king (*al-Jurz*) is the king of *al-Ṭāqā*, who is on peaceful terms with the kings surrounding him and is benevolent to the Muslims. His armies cannot compare (in strength) with those of the kings described by us earlier. No women in India are as attractive, beautiful and fair as the women of this kingdom.”⁵

Rahmā (**Dharma*):

“Next to this king (*al-Ṭāqā*) is the kingdom of *Rahmā* (**Dharma*),⁶ which is the title used by their kings and is the most common name among them. *Al-Jurz* wars against him and their kingdoms have a

- 1 *Murūj*, I, p. 383. This passage seems to have been borrowed by al-Mas‘ūdī from Sulaymān, *Akhbār*, pp. 12-13, whose description of *al-Jurz* pertains to the Gūrjaras who had opposed the advance of the Arabs (Sauvaget, *Akhbār*, Notes, pp. 51-52).
- 2 Cf. Sulaymān, *Akhbār*, p. 12: ‘The king of the Arabs is the greatest king’. This seems to be a reference to the Umayyad Caliphs of Damascus. According to the Persian division of *Kishwars* (or climes), the fourth clime or the clime of Babylon was placed in the centre, around which were placed six other circular climes (*Al-Tanbīh*, pp. 31-32, 34 sqq.).
- 3 This is a reference to Gujarat and Kathiawar (See Sauvaget, *Akhbār*, p. 52). Vatsarāja, the Pratīhāra ruler of Avanti in A.D. 783, is by some regarded as the ruler of Kathiawar Peninsula (*Imperial Kanauj*, p. 22).
- 4 *Murūj*, I, p. 177.
- 5 *Murūj*, I, pp. 207, 383-84; cf. Sulaymān, *Akhbār*, p. 13. This refers to *Takka-deśa*, or *Takka-viśaya*. According to Hsuan-Tsang, it bordered in the east on the river Bias and in the west on the Indus. Its capital lay about 15 *li* (—8.6 kilometers) to the north-east of Sialkot (Minorsky, *H.‘A.*, p. 249).
- 6 Cf. Sulaymān, *Akhbār*, pp. 13-14: دهرم. This stood for the Pala king of Bengal Dharma-(pāla), A.D. 769-801, and even down to A.D. 815. See Minorsky, *H.‘A.*, pp. 236-38

common frontier. *Dharma* fights against *al-Balharay* also along one of the frontiers of his kingdom. He possesses a larger number of men (soldiers), elephants and horses than owned by *al-Balharay* or the kings of *al-Jurz* or *al-Īqā*. It is customary with him to enter the battlefield with a force of fifty thousand elephants and he does not go to war except during the winter season, for the elephants become impatient when they are thirsty and cannot stand it for a long time. Some people exaggerate in saying that the king possesses huge armies and claim that the number of fullers and washermen of his army reaches from ten to fifteen thousand. The kings we have described arrange their troops in order of squadrons (*karādīs*), each consisting of twenty thousand men and arranged on four sides (fronts) with five thousand men on each side. In the kingdom of *Dharma* they use cowry-shells for commercial transactions, which forms the wealth of the nation. In his kingdom there is aloes-wood, gold and silver and they manufacture a very fine and delicate variety of cloth which is not found in any other country.¹ From this kingdom is exported the hair called *damr*² which is made into a fly-whisk by fixing ivory and a silver (rod) to it. Royal attendants stand holding it behind the kings in their assemblies. In his kingdom is also found the animal called *al-nishān*,³ the marked one; this is the animal which in common parlance is called *al-karkaddan*.⁴ "Dharma's kingdom encompasses both land and sea."⁵

Mandūrfīn (Mandūrafattan):*

Al-Mas'ūdī says that he has described in his works, *Kitāb Akhbār al-Zamān* and *al-Ausaf* the relations (*lit.* information) of the kings of

1 According to Sulaymān this cloth was made of cotton, and it was so fine and beautiful that a whole piece of cloth could be passed through a ring. Sulaymān himself had seen it (*Akhbār*, p. 13). This refers to the famous muslin of Bengal. See Sauvaget, *Akhbar*, p. 53.

2 Sulaymān gives *الضمير* (Ssk. *Camara*, Chasse-mouches), a fly-whisk. Ordinarily it is made of the tail of a yak, but also of silk or peacock feathers (See Sauvaget, *Akhbār*, p. 13 and Notes, p. 53).

3 Sulaymān gives *البشان* (Ssk. *pisāṇa*, a horn). The marked one may refer to the figures found inside the horn (See Sulaymān, *Akhbar*, p. 13 and Notes, p. 53).

4 *Murūj*, I. pp. 384-85. *Al-Karkaddan* is the Arabised form of the Ssk. word *khadgadanta*, "dent (en forme) de sabre" (Sauvaget, *Akhbar*, Notes, p. 53).

5 *Murūj*, I. p. 388. This information is not found in Sulaymān. The sea referred to here must be the Bay of Bengal.

China and Ceylon with the king of *Mandūrafattan*.¹ He says: "This country is situated opposite to the island of Ceylon ... Every king who rules the country of *Mandūrafattan* carries the title *al-Qāydyā* (* *al-fandyā*)."²

- 1 *Murūj*, I, p. 394, *Mandūrfīn* (* *Mandurafattan*) is Mathura, Madhura, Madura, the second capital of the Pāṇḍya, on the river Vaigai in the province of Madras (Minorsky, *Marvaṣī*, p. 144).
- 2 This corresponds to Pāṇḍya (Minorsky, *Marvaṣī*, p. 144). The king referred to by al-Mas'ūdī, may perhaps, be identified with Śrīmāra Śrīvallabh, (A.D. 815-862) who won victories over a number of enemies (*Imperial Kanauj*, pp. 157-158).

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ABBREVIATIONS

Akhbār = *Akhbār al-Sīn wa 'l-Hind, Relation de la Chine et de l'Inde*, Fr. tr. and Notes by M. Jean Sauvaget, Paris 1948.

Alberuni's India, Ar. text, edited by Edward Sachau, London, 1887.

Arab Geographers' = *Arab Geographers' Knowledge of Southern India*, by S.M.H. Nainar, Madras 1942.

Classical Age = *The Classical Age*, General Editor, R. C. Majumdar, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay 1954.

I.I. = *Encyclopædia of Islam* (new edition under publication, E. J. Brill, Leiden).

Gūjara Deśa = *Glory that was Gūjara Deśa* by K. M. Munshi, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay 1955.

H.A. = *Hudūd al-'Ālam, The Regions of the World'* (anonymous translation and commentary by V. Minorsky, Oxford 1937).

History of the Arabs by P. K. Hitti, London 1946.

History of Greece = *A History of Greece* by J. B. Bury, London 1956.

I.C. = *Islamic Culture*, Hyderabad, A.P.

Imperial Kanauj = *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, General Editor, R. C. Majumdar, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay 1955.

Indices = *Indices, Glossarium et Addenda et Emendanda*, by M. J. de Goeje, Leiden 1879.

Influence of Islam = *Influence of Islam on Indian Culture* by Tara Chand, Allahabad 1946.

Literary History = *A Literary History of Persia* by E. G. Browne, Vol. I, Cambridge 1951.

Marvazī = *Sharaf al-Zamān Tāhir Marvazī on China, the Turks and India* by V. Minorsky, London 1942.

Medical History=*A Medical History of Persia* by Cyril Elgood, Cambridge 1951.

Murūj=*Murūj al-Dhahab wa Ma'ādin al-Jauhar, Les Prairies d'Or*, by al-Mas'ūdī, ed. and tr. by Barbier de Meynard et Pavet de Courteilles, Paris 1861-77.

Sanskrit Literature=*A History of Sanskrit Literature* by A. B. Keith, Oxford University Press, 1956.

Al-Tanbīh=*Kitāb al-Tanbīh wa 'l-Ishrāf* by al-Mas'ūdī, ed. by M. J. de Goeje, Leiden 1894, BGĀ VIII.

The Thousand and One Nights by E. W. Lane, London 1883.

al-Aṭibbā by Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a, *'Uyūn*=*'Uyūn al-Anbā' fī Ṭabaqāt* Cairo 1882.

PART II
PROCEEDINGS

REPORT OF THE PROCEEDINGS
OF
AL-MAS'ŪDĪ MILLENARY CELEBRATIONS

HELD AT ALIGARH MUSLIM UNIVERSITY (JANUARY 18-19, 1958)

To commemorate the millenary of the tenth century Arab savant Abu'l-Hasan 'Alī b. al-Husayn, the Institute of Islamic Studies, Aligarh Muslim University, and the Indian Society for the History of Science, jointly sponsored the al-Mas'ūdī Millenary Celebrations, which were held in Aligarh on the 18th and 19th of January, 1958.

Al-Mas'ūdī's description of India and its people is full of admiration and sympathy for the Indian people, their religion, philosophy and science. He was one of the first to introduce India to the Arabic speaking world through his writings, at a time when India was less intimately known in that region and was considered 'a land of mystery'. It was to commemorate the services of this great Arab scholar towards furthering a better understanding between India and the Arab world and thereby strengthening 'the silken bonds' of ancient relations between the two that the Millenary Celebrations were held in the Aligarh Muslim University.

Over sixty delegates from different parts of the world participated in these Celebrations. These included leading scholars and orientalists of different universities and institutions of Europe, America and the Middle East, scholars from different parts of India and diplomats and representatives of West Asian countries.

Dr. Rajendra Prasad, President of the Indian Republic, sent a special message welcoming the Millenary Celebrations.

Messages were also received from President Gemal Abd el Nasser ; Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, Vice-President of India ; Sri Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister of India ; Sir Hamilton Gibb, Harvard University ; Academician Gerasimov, Academy of Sciences USSR ; and from other prominent scholars of India and abroad.

INAUGURAL SESSION

18TH JANUARY, 1958

Mr. A. A. A. Fyzee, Vice Chancellor, University of Jammu and Kashmir presided over the Inaugural Session. The session started with a welcome address by Col. B. H. Zaidi, Vice Chancellor, Aligarh Muslim University and Chairman of the Reception Committee. After a brief survey of the history of Aligarh University, he emphasized the importance of the cultural and intellectual relations of India with the Arab countries since ancient times and pointed out the significance of the Celebrations. He then introduced the President to the audience and welcomed the delegates.

His address was followed by a speech by Professor Abdul Aleem, Director, Institute of Islamic Studies, Aligarh Muslim University, who welcomed the delegates on behalf of the Institute. Professor M. S. Thacker, Director-General Council of Scientific and Industrial Research, welcomed the delegates on behalf of the Indian Society for the History of Science. He emphasized the fact that a closer study of al-Mas'ūdī will throw a new light on the relation of science and technology in his times and will be of value to us in understanding our own.

Mr. A. A. A. Fyzee then delivered his Presidential Address.

It was followed by speeches of prominent delegates from India and abroad and diplomats and representatives of West Asian countries in New Delhi welcoming the Celebrations. Among those who spoke on the occasion were:

Professor G. E. von Grunebaum,
University of California,
Los Angeles, U. S. A.

Professor S. P. Tolstov,
Academician and Director,
Department of Ethnography,
Academy of Sciences,
Moscow, USSR.

Professor Bernard Lewis,
School of Oriental and
African Studies
London.

Professor Nicola A. Ziadeh,
American University of Beirut,
Beirut, Lebanon.

Dr. M. Nizamuddin,
Director, Dā'irat al-Ma'ārif,
Osmania University,
Hyderabad (Dn.), India.

H. E. Rahmatallah Abdullah,
The Ambassador of Sudan in India,
New Delhi, India.

Mr. Syed Saify Hamavi,
Second Secretary,
Syrian Embassy, New Delhi.

Mr. M. T. Moqtadari,
Chargè d'Affaires,
Iranian Embassy, New Delhi.

H. E. Syed Halim Ezzeddin,
Minister for Lebanon in India,
New Delhi.

Mr. Sekip Engineri,
Press Attachè,
Turkish Embassy, New Delhi.

In the evening an exhibition of rare manuscripts belonging to the Lytton Library, Aligarh Muslim University, Habib Ganj Library and the library of Anjuman-i-Taraqqī-i-Urdū, Hind, was organized. It included specially prepared maps of medieval Arab geographers; charts and photographs presented by the embassies of Egypt, Sudan, Iraq, Syria, Saudi Arabia, Afghanistan and Turkey depicting the life and conditions of West Asian countries; and other material on the life and travels of al-Mas'ūdī. The opening ceremony of the exhibition was performed by Professor Bernard Lewis.

MORNING SESSION

19TH JANUARY, 1958

This Session was devoted to reading of papers on the life and works of al-Mas'ūdī. Professor G. E. von Grunebaum presided over the Session. In the beginning he read messages sent for the occasion. Then a general statement on the proposed *Commemoration Volume* on the life, thought and works of al-Mas'ūdī was given by Dr. S. Maqbul

Ahmad. The following papers were then read during the session by the different delegates present in the session:

- Professor Nicola A. Ziadeh:
 "Diyār al-Shām according to al-Mas'ūdī" ... (English)
- Dr. Mohammad Shafi, Aligarh:
 "Al-Mas'ūdī as a geographer." ... (English)
- Professor Sa'īd Naficy:
 "Chand nukte dar bāra-i-zindagī wa kārkhā-yi Mas'ūdī." ... (Persian)
- Mr. A. Rahman, Roorkee:
 "Al-Mas'ūdī and Contemporary Science." ... (English)
- Hafiz Ghulam Murtaza, Allahabad:
 "Al-Mas'ūdī on the Arabian Calendar." ... (English)
- Mr. Abul Fazl al-Hazeghi:
 "Al-Mas'ūdī on Persia." ... (Persian)
- Mr. Imtiaz Ali Arshi, Rampur:
 "*Hawl Akhbār al-Zamān.*" ... (Arabic)
- Dr. S. M. Ziauddin Alavi, Aligarh:
 "Al-Mas'ūdī's conception of the relationship between man and environment." ... (English)

AFTERNOON SESSION

19TH JANUARY, 1958

Professor Nicola A. Ziadeh presided over the afternoon Session and the following papers were read:

- Professor Ch. Pellat, Paris,
 "A project for a new edition of al-Mas'ūdī's *Murūj al-Dhahab* based on that of Barbier de Meynard and Pavet de Courteille." ... (English)
 (Read by Dr. Munibur Rahman)
- Professor T. Lewicki, Krakow:
 "Al-Mas'ūdī on the Slavs." ... (English)

(Read by Dr. S. Maqbul Ahmad)

Mr. Syed Sibtul Hasan, Aligarh:

“Al-Mas‘ūdī as a muḥaddith” ... (Urdu)

Mr. Mujibullah Nadvi, Azamgarh:

“Al-Mas‘ūdī and India.” ... (Urdu)

Hafiz Ghulam Mustafa, Aligarh:

“Use of poetry by al-Mas‘ūdī in his works.” ... (English)

Dr. Athar Abbas Rizvi, Lucknow:

“The comparison and contrast of the India of
Mas‘ūdī with that of the historians of the
Sultans of Delhi.” ... (Hindi)

At the end of the morning and the evening sessions, Professor G. E. von Grunebaum made general observations on the papers read. The session came to an end with remarks by Professor Abdul Aleem, who pointed out that although the papers read on al-Mas‘ūdī provided fresh material on al-Mas‘ūdī, and were usually full of admiration for him, the weakness and defects in al-Mas‘ūdī’s thought and in his writings were not fully brought out and that this point may be kept in view while contributing articles to the *Commemoration Volume*.



RASHTRAPATI BHAVAN,
NEW DELHI

January 10, 1958.

I am glad that the Aligarh Muslim University is celebrating the Millenary of the Arab savant and traveller, Al-Mas'udi, who visited India in the early years of the 10th century. In his works he is supposed to have thrown light on that period of our history about which little is known authentically. Our knowledge of Indian history of the period from the death of Harsha to the establishment of the first Sultanate in Delhi is still somewhat sketchy. From that point of view the writings of Al-Mas'udi should be particularly welcome. Let me hope the Institute of Islamic Studies, Aligarh Muslim University, will be able to publish Al-Mas'udi's works for the benefit of those who are interested in Indian history.

On this occasion, while commending this venture, I send my best wishes to the Al-Mas'udi Millenary Celebrations Committee of the Aligarh Muslim University and wish them success in their undertaking.

Rajendra Prasad



MESSAGE

I am glad to learn that the Institute of Islamic Studies of the Aligarh Muslim University as well as the Indian Society for the History of Science are celebrating the millenary of Abu'l Hasan Ali, the famous Arab traveller and historian. It is right that we should honour these great travellers of the past whose writings help us so much to understand the period they lived in.

Jawahar Lal Nehru

Gauhati,
January 17, 1958.



مكتب
الرئيس

السيد عبد الرحمن

السيد السيد مقبول أحمد

وبعد

تحية طيبة

فانه ليصدقني ويحمد مصر أن يحتفل معهد الدراسات الاسلامية بجامعة
عليكده بمرور ألف عام على وفاة العالم الرحالة المؤرخ أبو الحسن علي بن الحسن
المصعودي المتوفى سنة ١٠٤٦ م الذي أقام في مصر أخصب أيام حياته .
ويحمد أبو الحسن من نوابغ المفكرين الذين أضافوا جديدا رائعا للموسم
المكتبة العربية ، فكتابه " مروج الذهب " لا يزال يعد الى اليوم من المراجع
التاريخية الهامة .

وأبو الحسن يعد في طبيعة الرحالة العرب الذين شرعوا وخرسوا فـزار
ايران والهند وسيلان والصين والشام ومصر في عصر كانت الرحلة فيه شاقة عـسيرة
واستقام أن يحفل ملاحظاته ومشاهداته وتحاربه وأن يقدمها الى أجيال وأجيال .
وأبو الحسن برحلاته المتعددة قد أقام شاهدا على الروابط الوثيقة التي
تربط بين الأمة العربية في مختلف الاقطار والامصار ، وأن حواجز الحدود القائمة
بينها لا تقف مانقا أمام الروابط الروحية والثقافية .
ان هؤلاء الاعلام هم الحلقة التي توشق الصلات في عالم الروح والفكر
بين الدول .

واني لأبعت الى المحتفلين أطيب تحياتي ، وأصدق مشاعر المصريين
متضيا للمادة العلماء كل توفيق في دراساتهم العميقة لهذا المؤرخ العظيم .

والسلام عليكم ورحمة الله .

القاهرة في ١٨ / ٢ / ١٩٥٨

رئيس الجمهورية

MESSAGE FROM HIS LATE MAJESTY KING FEISAL II OF IRAQ

اننا نقدر حق التقدير قيام جامعة (عليكرة) في احياء الذكرى
الالفية لابي الحسن علي بن الحسين المسعودي و نبعث باطيب تحياتنا
للمسلمين في دراسة هذا الباحث العظيم و للمشاركين في الاحتفال بذكره.

ان هذا العالم الكبير عربي الاصل، عراقي المنشأ، اسلامي الثقافة،
عالمي النظرة استقر اجداؤه في العراق منذ اوائل الفتح الاسلامي،
وساهموا في الحياة الادارية والفكرية وقد ولد في العراق ودرس على
علمائه ونهل من المعارف التي سادت فيه حتى صار من افذاذ العلماء
المسلمين بسعة اطلاعه وشمول معرفته وتنوع مناحي ثقافته وتعدد
جوانب اهتمامه وبصفا، ذهنه واستقامة تفكيره وعمق خبرته وروحه
العظيمة الوثابة التي دفعته الى القيام برحلات عديدة الى مناطق
واسعة بعيدة يسجل فيها احوال البلاد والشعوب، وبكمل بالمشاهدة
والاختيار ما تسببه من المطالعات والنظريات، مما جعل كتاباته منيعا
عظيما خالدا لمعرفة كثير من الاقطار واحوال اقوامها وثقافتهم.

ان المسعودي من اروع نماذج الفكر الاسلامي بحبه العلم والمعرفة
ونفطرته الواسعة وفكره الخصب، وروحه الوثابة العظيمة، وبعنايته
بالانسانية ودراساتها وبمساهمته القيمة الشاملة لكثير من ميادين الحياة
البشرية، فهو جدير بالتقدير وحرى باحياء الذكر، وخلق بالاحتفال
والتعظيم فقيام جامعة (عليكرة) باحياء ذكره، وبشجيع الباحثين على
دراسته وابراز عظمتهم للناس هو عمل يتفق مع خدماتها الكبرى
للدراسات الاسلامية، ويتناسب مع مكانتها الراقية واتجاهاتها العلمية
العالمية، وهي بهذا جديرة بالثناء والتقدير، نرحو الله العلي القدير ان
يبارك لها جهودها ويسدد خطاها ويوفق المشاركين في عملهم.

فيصل الثاني

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER BY THE LATE MAULANA
ABUL KALAM AZAD TO THE VICE CHANCELLOR,
ALIGARH MUSLIM UNIVERSITY

“It may be advisable to emphasize wherever necessary that the Millennium of Al-Mas‘ūdī at the University is being commemorated because of the services of this great writer and world tourist in making India more acquainted to the Middle Eastern countries by means of his writings about the social, political and religious conditions and about India’s geography.”

MESSAGE FROM ACADEMICIAN GERASIMOV

The Academy of Sciences, U.S.S.R.

Geographical Institute of Academy Sciences of U.S.S.R. greets International Symposium in memory of remarkable Arabian traveller, historian, geographer Mas‘ūdī whose works stay useful for our science even now. Wish all participants of Symposium success in pointing out all importance of Mas‘ūdī’s work.

SUMMARY OF THE PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

BY

MR. A. A. A. FYZEE

Vice Chancellor, University of Jammu and Kashmir

Mr. A. A. A. Fyzee began his Presidential Address with the following words:

"Upon occasions of this character, a presidential address might well deal mainly with the life and work of the illustrious author whose milienary we are celebrating and then proceed to examine the fields of learning in which he was distinguished, laying down the ideals and discussing the future programme of such studies. But as I cannot claim to be a student of geography or history, my task is a difficult one and in accepting with gratitude the invitation to participate in this Conference, my main objects were to seize this opportunity to salute the illustrious scholars who have honoured us by their presence this evening and to make a few general remarks about oriental studies and researches in Medieval Indian history. I should like first to begin by welcoming all those scholars who have travelled great distances to participate in this function, and to help and guide us in formulating a policy and laying down a programme for the future. Without making any individual distinctions, may I say how deeply honoured we are by their presence amongst us.

"Al-Mas'ūdī was an Arab historian and geographer of the 4th century (A.H.). He travelled to Persia, India, Ceylon and Zanzibar. He also reached the Caspian Sea and lived in Syria and Oman. Finally, he died in Cairo in 346 A.H., and is buried at Fustāt (old Cairo), that wonderful graveyard of illustrious men. The period during which he lived was a most interesting one, when the Fātimid power was established and became a formidable rival politically, culturally and spiritually to Baghdad, the City of Peace. Al-Mas'ūdī wrote several works, among them the best known are the *Murūj al-Dhahab* and the *Tanbīh wa 'l-Ishrāf*."

Mr. Fyzee then discussed the various problems connected with Oriental Studies in India and posing the main problem he said: "In these days when the energies of India are directed mainly towards technology and science, particularly the harnessing of atomic energy for beneficial purposes, it is obvious that much attention cannot be paid to the humanistic branch of academic learning. We must begin seriously

to ask ourselves whether the humanities can be entirely excluded in the process of the promotion of science and technology, or whether it is possible to pursue classical studies without regard to the advances made by science in the modern age, or whether there is yet a third alternative, viz., to mix the humanities and the classics with science and technology so as to make the scientist more alive to the classical spirit, and to make classicists understand the values and meanings of science as it is understood in the 20th century. In my view, the scientists ought to be given the opportunity to appreciate the beauty and significance of the classics, and likewise those who are devoted to the classical learning must in some measure also be trained in the grammar of science."

He then discussed the aims of classical studies and pointed out its necessity in the following words. "A mind which is imbued with the love of the classics, and mind disciplined in the proper understanding of the grammar, the vocabulary and the meaning of an ancient language, and the ideals of a bygone age, is an indication that it will be able to master the conditions of men in our own time and resolve its problems with imagination. Therefore, it is not so much the utility as the contemplation of the beauty in the expression of the ideas of a great mind writing centuries ago which is the true aim of classical studies." Universities that teach these subjects should be strengthened, research institutes should be established and balanced histories should be written. Again, the syllabi should be so constructed as to attract the classical students. He said, "the aim is not to produce the *Pundits* and '*Ulema* of olden times but to produce men of understanding and intelligence, of balanced judgment and critical appreciation of the past ; in other words, Indian Orientalists."

Explaining the question of the diminishing interest of the people in ancient languages as compared to the past and of the gradual weakening of Arabic, Persian and Turkish studies in our own country, he said that the most important reason is the economic factor. There is no market value for the graduate of Arabic and Persian. Hence, to overcome this problem he suggested several solutions. The first thing to do is to inculcate the love of one's own mother-tongue. Secondly, pride in the achievements of the past should be tempered with criticism of the bad actions of kings and nobles and politicians. Thirdly, there must be a healthy attitude towards religion.

Finally, Mr. Fyzee raised several other important questions with regard to oriental studies in India, namely, the question of the falling standards of research, the absence of suitable text-books, etc., and offered suitable solutions.

STATEMENT

BY

M. S. THACKER

Human society has progressed far since the days of al-Mas'ūdī. This progress has mainly been technological and the period of this has also been the period in which the initiative from the hands of the Asian countries has passed on to the West.

Al-Mas'ūdī's visit to India shows the close relations the Arab countries had with India and the esteem in which our country was held. Indian technology was valued in fulfilling the needs of every day life particularly for the armies of the Arabs but even more so Indian knowledge was esteemed at their courts and with their sages. Indian sages were invited to the courts and Sanskrit books were translated into Arabic. To day, we see once again, the resurgence of this close relationship and it is therefore befitting that we celebrate, under the joint auspices of the Indian Society for the History of Science and the Institute of Islamic Studies, Aligarh, the Millenary of the great Arab traveller and scholar through whom knowledge about India was spread amongst Arabic-speaking countries and closer relationships established with India.

Al-Mas'ūdī, encyclopaedist as he was, has many contributions to make to the spread of knowledge. His books show his critical observation and outlook, and because of this he sifted much from hearsay and popularised scientific facts and ideas. In fact it would be true to say that al-Mas'ūdī was a great populariser of science: the accounts of his travels found in his works, and the tradition they established were not only able to rouse people's curiosity and incite them to travel but also spread knowledge about far-off lands, India included.

George Sarton has pointed out, in his *Introduction to the History of Science* that "The translation of *Murūj* by 'meadows' does not fit the sense or the parallelism. It has been suggested that it means 'washings' in the mining sense." Scholars gathered here can discuss this suggestion of Sarton usefully, as it would have, in my opinion, a far-reaching effect on the understanding and evaluation of al-Mas'ūdī. If al-Mas'ūdī has used the word *Murūj* in the sense of mining then this

suggests a technological bias in his understanding and knowledge of natural phenomena. We are used to understanding medieval knowledge either based on observation or on contemplation and devoid of any technological roots. We know the Mu'tazilite views of al-Mas'ūdī and his study and association with craftsmen and it is quite likely that his independent views and association with craftsmen might have given him a deeper understanding of the method of acquiring knowledge and the technological basis of human understanding which he could not explicitly express but could suggest only implicitly.

His description of wind-mills is another instance which strengthens the above suggestion. The origin of wind-mills is obscure, an anecdote suggests that they were already known in Arabia during the 7th century. Nevertheless, the description of a source of energy other than human muscle power is also very interesting and the importance that al-Mas'ūdī seems to have given it is not one of mere curio, but of something more than that, of technological importance. These and other suggestions in al-Mas'ūdī's writings point towards an outlook which is different from the commonly understood contemplative and mystical outlook of medievalism, but more research is necessary and vital before any definite conclusions could be arrived at.

Historical research on the sources of al-Mas'ūdī's knowledge would not only be interesting from the point of evaluating his place in history, but would do more to bridge the gaps in our knowledge of the medieval period of our history and the erroneous view-points we have developed about the complete divorce of knowledge and technology during this period. Further, it will also go a long way in the evolution of our own philosophy of technology, without that unfortunate divorce between technology and philosophy as in the West. In the understanding and development of such an outlook and humanistic traditions as represented by many of our religious traditions, we would require a zest, curiosity, a critical yet a catholic outlook and the industry similar to that of al-Mas'ūdī. In celebrating the millenary of al-Mas'ūdī, the Indian Society for the History of Science and the Institute of Islamic Studies are celebrating the best tradition of Indo-Arab relations—the scientific tradition of exchange of knowledge and the internationalism of knowledge, and I hope this cause would be furthered by this gathering of scientists and scholars from all over the world.

MAS'ŪDĪ AND THE MUSLIM RENAISSANCE.

SPEECH BY
BERNARD LEWIS

There are few Islamic scholars who have devoted themselves to the special study of al-Mas'ūdī, but there must be even fewer who do not find themselves constantly drawn to dip, with both pleasure and profit, into his writings—to browse in the fields of gold, and delve in the mines of precious stones.

Mas'ūdī was not one of the great, universal geniuses of Islam, like al-Bīrūnī or Ibn Khaldūn; he does not loom with demiurgic vastness in the creation of new worlds, like Ibn al-Muqaffa' or Jābir ibn Ḥayyān; he is not one of those conscientious and meticulous scholars, whose voluminous but specialized compilations are the cornerstones of the edifice of Muslim learning, like Ṭabarī or Idrīsī. Yet there is no branch of Muslim scholarship that has not been enriched and illuminated by his questing mind and his graceful pen.

Mas'ūdī was a true child of his age and place—of that brief but tremendous flowering of the human spirit to which Adam Mez, not ineptly, gave the name of 'The Renaissance of Islam.' And indeed it was a Renaissance—a revival of ancient learning, and the birth of a new learning. The Islamic conquests had, for the first time, fused into a single unified society the ancient civilization of the Mediterranean and those of Iran and Central Asia. The Arab advance to the borders of India and China had opened the way for new and fructifying influences from the civilizations of the remoter Orient, which were now brought into direct contact with the Middle Eastern and Mediterranean world. From India came mathematics, from China paper:—there is no need to insist on the importance of these in preparing the Muslim renaissance, the one by opening the way for new ideas, the other by providing the means for their cheap and rapid dissemination.

Many different sources contributed to this Renaissance of Islam, especially those of Hellas and Iran; Greek thought and Persian wisdom, Greek politics and Persian statecraft, Greek æsthetics and Persian elegance—and all of them fused together into something new and distinctive under the impress of Islam, the Arabic language, and the religious, legal, and literary traditions enshrined in them.

Mas'ūdī was born into the most vital and stimulating period of this rebirth, and his writings reveal him as a true son of the Renaissance.

Three qualities seem to me to be characteristic of Mas'ūdī's work as a scholar and a man of letters; curiosity, integrity, and elegance. His curiosity is boundless. In his insatiable thirst for knowledge he took all learning for his sphere, and there are few subjects in which his writings do not mark a significant advance on the existing state of knowledge. I may quote two examples. One of the important religious movements of Mas'ūdī's time was that of the extremist Shī'a, including such groups as the Ismā'īlīs, Carmathians, and others. A comparison of Mas'ūdī's writings with those of his contemporaries show him to be better informed than they were, and the *Tanbīh* contains tantalizing hints of more detailed expositions in his lost writings. Unlike other writers of the time, Mas'ūdī, in discussing the Carmathians, seems to have conducted his enquiries among the Carmathians themselves, through reading and conversations.

My other example relates to the growth of Muslim geographical knowledge concerning western Europe. Classical Islam, like most other civilizations of the past, was contemptuously indifferent to the barbarians beyond the frontier, and even during the Crusades there was surprisingly little interest shown by Muslim scholars in the countries and peoples of the West. It is all the more surprising to find that, at a time when, for Muslims in the Middle East, Europe was still a remote and unknown wilderness, Mas'ūdī was sufficiently interested to collect information about the geography and ethnography of Western Europe and even to find a list of the Frankish kings from Clovis to Louis IV. As far as I am aware this list, brief as it is, is the only Muslim statement on Western European history until Rashīd al-Dīn.

In giving these two examples I have, I think, also illustrated Mas'ūdī's integrity. In discussing a detested revolutionary heresy like that of the Carmathians, he does not simply abuse and condemn but tries honestly to find out what they believe and present it fairly to his readers; likewise in discussing the infidel enemy beyond the borders he tries, to the best of his ability, to ascertain and communicate the truth. The same honesty and frankness appear in his discussion of many awkward political and religious issues. Tabarī explicitly warns us that he suppresses certain evidence the publication of which would not, to use the modern phrase, be in the public interest (*e.g.* I, pp. 2862, 2965, 2980). Mas'ūdī suppresses nothing; he neither blackens nor whitewashes, but seeks out the truth and tells it as he sees it. The resulting works are a monument to the achievements of the enquiring human mind.

STATEMENT

BY

G. E. VON GRUNEBAUM

History is temptation and vindication; it is the storehouse of experience largely unused and the high road to self-understanding. The forgotten here joins the forgotten truth in death and futility whence the historian in response perhaps to a half-spoken urging of his society may recall them. The historian is the memory of his people, or at least, it is he who justifies by proof or authority the past for which they yearn by reconciling aspiration and conscience through what critique and explication will satisfy the reason of the age. So the historian will be maker and censor of myths, he will muster the past for or against the drives of the present, channel its inquisitiveness and find in what has been cause and legitimation for the hopes and despondencies of his day.

Times vary in the breadth of their interests and in their capacity for self-analysis, and it is not often that a historian as his period's spokesman comprehends its structure sufficiently to uncover a meaning of lasting not only but of transcultural validity and emotional satisfactoriness.

Al-Mas'ūdī has a fair claim to such distinction. He was fortunate perhaps in that he lived in a period of disunity and political decline, fortunate in the sense that there was no stolid political force, no unified and complacent public opinion to call a halt to his curiosity. The whirl of intellectual uncertainties, the clash of views in theology and philosophy, the competition of political interests, the readiness of the times to discuss fundamentals and to engage in a critique of the Islamic existence as such—they resulted in a network of powerliness wide enough to allow for an intellectual freedom that was not to be enjoyed much longer; that, in fact, had to be curtailed when Muslim society woke to the realisation that its disintegration was a possibility however remote.

Nor was Mas'ūdī's age prepared to accept as final the decay from which it suffered and to relinquish its faith in the possibility or rather, the reality of human advancement. In literature, in philosophy and (among the heterodox) in a *joie de vivre* long unknown the hopefulness of the human existence, the upward movement of scientific insight are

expressed and reflected. Like Muḥammad ar-Rāzī (d. 935) before him, al-Mas'ūdī affirms the superior knowledge of each subsequent writer who takes off from where his predecessor halted; but unlike ar-Rāzī, the sceptical philosopher-physician, al-Mas'ūdī finds the corroboration of his sense of progress in the Koran.¹ It is important to realise that at no point does al-Mas'ūdī feel himself in conflict with the religious basis of his society—rightly understood it undergirds painlessly the vision of universal evolution from mineral to plant and upward to animal and man which al-Mas'ūdī shares with the Ikhwān aṣ-Ṣafā of Baṣra.

The Brethren were unequalled as synthesizers of the knowledge of the times. But it is al-Mas'ūdī's concept of science with its more rigorous demands on rationality of theme and treatment and his consequent disregard of the study of magic and portents that has evinced its vitality across the gap of the ages and the frontiers of civilizations. The direct approach, questioning and experimentation, is practised or, at any rate, approved of by al-Mas'ūdī. But he was too much in love with life itself to disdain the anecdotal and the legendary and to exclude an exchange of verse between Adam and Satan from his history. Playfulness does not stand in the way of profundity. Mas'ūdī's age was concerned with the nature of government and keenly aware of the support lent each other by *mulk* and *dīn*. We do not know sufficiently the political theories that were current among al-Mas'ūdī's contemporaries to assess the originality of his own. But there can be no doubt that he must be counted as one of the initiators of that kind of historical and societal analysis that was to culminate in the *Muqaddima* of Ibn Khaldūn (d. 1406). (And Ibn Khaldūn was fully alive to his spiritual kinship with al-Mas'ūdī whom he considered the most respected of Muslim historians).

Al-Mas'ūdī knows that a nation's laws will depend on the four factors of its religion, its economy, its innate character and the influence of neighbouring peoples. National peculiarities were much discussed since the rise of the *shu'ūbiyya*; the study of religions other than Islam had held the interest of the educated for more than a century when al-Mas'ūdī wrote; and al-Mas'ūdī himself is clearly conscious of the distinction between religious controversy and the discussion of an alien faith. Whether his analytical view of the elements that shape historical

1 12 : 76; Cf. *Tanbīh*, p. 76.

phenomena was his in concept or merely in articulation it enabled him along with a sense of the particular and his unusual gifts as a writer to leave to the world two works whose clarity of outline and whose unaffected style have secured them transcultural effectiveness after a thousand years, not to speak of the regret at the irreparable loss of what al-Mas'ūdī himself considered his *opera magna*.

The limitations we find in his *Murūj al-Dhahab* as regards the characterisation of his personages or the vividness with which he is able to evoke details of the historical process in a given society—which together with a more precise concern for the didactic utility of the historical experience make for the attraction of Miskawaih's *Tajārib al-umam*, and without the educational element, for that al-Mas'ūdī's close contemporary, aṣ-Ṣūlī—; those limitations may be due merely to deliberate curtailment of narrative in the *ikhtisār* that alone has been preserved for us.

Al-Mas'ūdī did not succumb to the temptation of history—the cause his work subserves is the timeless one of collective self-understanding: how has it come about that we are as we are? He does not ask whether it is good that we are such and it may be doubted that this question exercised him at all. The meaning of history is in the potentialities that the past seems to hold for the future; and al-Mas'ūdī, supported by revelation and the vision of evolution, was confident. And because he was sure of the values of his society he was honest. And because God had endowed him with many a gift he was great within his time and in some ways he has become great again within ours.

Ladies and gentlemen, those are the reasons why I, for one, have felt the wish to participate in the present Celebrations.

STATEMENT

BY

S. P. TOLSTOV

I consider it my pleasant duty to thank the Aligarh Muslim University for the great honour it has done me in inviting me to take part in the Celebrations of one of the outstanding men of letters of the Medieval East, namely, the historian and geographer, Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Alī al-Mas'ūdī.

The names of the great scholars of the Medieval East, and in particular those of the countries where the Arabic language and traditions of Islam prevail, are highly venerated in our country. Large numbers of people, by no means confined to specialists, know the name of al-Mas'ūdī, to whose Millenary Celebrations the present gathering is devoted. The passages of his remarkable work that deal with the description of peoples and areas now within the Soviet Union are now included in the text-books on the history of these peoples and are familiar to every school-boy.

The names of many scientists of the Medieval East are well known and highly respected in our country, such as that of one of the founders of modern mathematics, Muḥammad ibn Mūsā al-Khwārizmī, that of the outstanding figure in medical science, Abū 'Alī ibn Sīnā, the encyclopædic genius of the beginning of the 11th century, Abū Rayḥān al-Bīrūnī, the leader of a large group of astronomers, Ulugbeg, and many others. The anniversaries of Ibn Sīnā and al-Bīrūnī have within the last ten years been commemorated in the Soviet Union on a country-wide scale.

These commemorations took the most varied forms: meetings were held in their honour; lectures devoted to the memory of these scientists were delivered before large audiences and also over the radio; their works and monographs, and collections of research on them were published and also popular books in large editions as well as articles in widely circulated magazines; places connected with their memory and also academic institutions were named after them; and monuments were erected at appropriate sites.

In particular, the Government of the Uzbek Republic has recently adopted a resolution to rename Bīrūnī's birth-place the town of Shahabbas (ancient Kath) as Bīrūnī, to call one of the squares of the

Uzbek capital, Tashkent, Bīrūnī Square, and to set up a monument to him on this square, to name the Institute of Oriental Studies in Tashkent after him, and to publish the complete works of al-Bīrūnī in Russian, Uzbek and Arabic. The first volume of this collection was published last year.

Similar measures were taken in connection with Ibn Sīnā's jubilee. Several volumes of his collected works have already been published.

It is not only the memory of scientists whose activities were associated with the territories of our Eastern republic that we respect. Soviet specialists cite the works of the renowned geographers al-Mas'ūdī of Baghdād and al-Idrīsī of Sicily, of the outstanding sociologist, the Spanish Arab Ibn Khaldūn, the excellent linguist Maḥmud al-Kāshgharī of western China, and many others. The activities of all these scientists, who came from different countries and different peoples, may serve as an excellent example of the great importance of broad international intercourse among scientists and scholars for the fruitful development of science.

What was of such great importance in the Middle Ages acquires an even greater significance now, when scientific knowledge has attained unprecedented heights, and when the responsibility of scientists for the fate of the world has grown beyond all measure.

The cooperation of scientists of various countries, their personal contacts, and joint discussions of the scientific problems that are of concern to us all, are a guarantee of the further progress of science, of the consolidation of the great cause of peace and prosperity of all the peoples of our planet, irrespective of the political and social structures of their states, their ideologies or their religious convictions.

In this connection we must continue the noble tradition of Bīrūnī, who wrote a remarkable book on India in which this learned Muslim was able to give a truthful and appreciative account of the achievements of Indian non-Islamic sciences and culture.

Representatives of various branches of Soviet science, and of various national academies of the Soviet Union, in particular those of Uzbekistan and Azerbaijan, who have come for the 45th Indian Science Congress, have taken the greatest interest in the present Celebrations and are following its proceedings attentively; they have entrusted me with the pleasant task of conveying to the representatives of Indian science and scholarship assembled here, as also to the scientists and scholars who have come as guests from various countries of the world, their greetings and sincere good wishes for the fruitfulness of their work.

SPEECH

BY

NICOLA A. ZIADEH

Celebrations of various natures are not unknown to human society. Such things must have started with the earliest human settlements. People celebrated days of their gods, of their saints, of their prophets and various social occasions. To-day we are celebrating the millenary of a saint of learning. The saint of the day is al-Mas'ūdī, a geographer, an historian, a traveller and a scientist.

One important thing about the celebrations of men of knowledge is that they are not restricted to special places. To-day our Ka'ba is Aligarh University. This University is not unknown to us. We have read the works of its Professors and we have known a great deal about them. But to know of a place is one thing and to be in it and meet the people who inhabit it is another. We have come together to this Ka'ba of learning to place al-Mas'ūdī on his pedestal so that his knowledge may be better appreciated. We are grateful for the people of Aligarh for the choice of the saint and the Ka'ba of the day.

Al-Mas'ūdī travelled about with open eyes, open ears, an open heart and an open mind. This is why he succeeded in seeing things which his contemporaries failed to see and in appreciating problems which others failed to appreciate. Many of his contemporaries wrote geographies of the areas he visited and in fuller details than his own accounts, yet al-Mas'ūdī alone tried to probe some of the more essential problems of peoples living in them. Let me illustrate by referring to his brief description of Christian communities living in Diyār al-Shām. Unlike other authors of his time, he did not satisfy himself with enumerating them and giving a brief historical account of their development. He went on to examine some of the fundamental issues which touched on the essence of the Deity Himself. He tried to understand and to explain to his future readers the difference between the various communities in so far as the nature of Christ was concerned. Thus he mentions the Two Wills and the Two Persons of Christ, a problem which was, and still is of vital importance to Christian churches. It is no wonder that he failed to grasp the very fine distinctions which Christian theologians drew between the one and the other. But to realize that a

Muslim savant of the tenth century A.D. would interest himself in such matters and take the trouble to examine them is certainly astonishing, keeping in mind that twentieth century Muslim students of theology have not even bothered about understanding similar matters. The attitude adopted by al-Mas'ūdī is certainly refreshing, and I hope that it will set an example to our contemporaries.

Al-Mas'ūdī, as we can see him, was the knowable conscience of his age—an age which represents in the Arab Islamic civilization a period of maturity.

It is certainly a great pleasure and honour for me to be here today on behalf of the American University of Beirut to take part in the Celebrations of the Millenary of the Saint of the Day, at this Ka'ba of Learning.

LIST OF DELEGATES TO THE AL-MAS'ŪDĪ MILLENARY CELEBRATIONS

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1. Abdul Aleem, Professor | Aligarh Muslim University,
Aligarh, India. |
| 2. Abdul Latif, Dr. Syed | Hyderabad, A. P., India. |
| 3. Abdul Latif, Hakim | Aligarh Muslim University,
Aligarh, India. |
| 4. Agwani, Dr. Mohd. Shafi | I.S.I.S., New Delhi, India. |
| 5. Ahmad, Dr. Audrey J. | Aligarh Muslim University,
Aligarh, India. |
| 6. Ahmad, Dr. Mukhtaruddin | Aligarh Muslim University,
Aligarh, India. |
| 7. Ahmad, Nazima M. D. | Aligarh, India. |
| 8. Ahmad, M. Said
(Akbrabadi). | Calcutta Madrasah, Calcutta,
India. |
| 9. Ahmad, Dr. Syed | Institute of Post-Graduate Studies
and Research in Arabic and
Persian, Patna, India. |
| 10. Ali, Dr. Amjad | Aligarh Muslim University,
Aligarh, India. |
| 11. Ansari, Mr. Mohd. Iqbal | Aligarh Muslim University,
Aligarh, India. |
| 12. Arshi, Mr. Imtiaz Ali | Raza Library, Rampur, India. |
| 13. Arzanjani, M. al-Ma'mun | Delhi, India. |
| 14. Ashraf, Dr. K. M. | Delhi University, Delhi, India. |
| 15. Ayyubi, Dr. Akmal | Aligarh Muslim University,
Aligarh, India. |
| 16. Aziz, Mr. S. A. | Aligarh Muslim University,
Aligarh, India. |
| 17. Engineri, Mr. Sekip | Turkish Embassy, New Delhi
India. |
| 18. Farab, Dr. C. | The American Embassy,
New Delhi, India. |
| 19. Fariq, Dr. Khurshid A. | Delhi University, Delhi, India. |
| 20. Fyzee, Mr. A. A. A. | The University of Jammu and
Kashmir, Srinagar, India. |
| 21. Fyzee, (Mrs.) A. A. A. | Srinagar, India. |
| 22. Grunebaum, Professor G. E.
von | University of California, Los
Angeles, California, U.S.A. |

23. Halim, H. E. Syed Abu Ezzeddin Minister for Lebanon, New Delhi, India.
24. Hamawi, Mr. Syed Saify Syrian Embassy, New Delhi, India.
25. Hasan, Professor Hadi Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh, India.
26. Hasan, Dr. Saeed Allahabad University, Allahabad, India.
27. Hasan, Mr. Sibtul Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh, India.
28. Hazeghi, Abolfazl Iranian Imperial Embassy, Kabul, Afghanistan.
29. Hifzur Rahman, M. M.P., New Delhi, India.
30. al-Hindi, Mr. A. L. Allahabad University, Allahabad, India.
31. Ishaq, Dr. M. Calcutta University, Calcutta, India.
32. Kostomarov, Dr. V. G. The Academy of Sciences of the USSR, Moscow.
33. Lewis, Professor Bernard University of London, U. K.
34. Maqbul Ahmad, Dr. S. Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh, India.
35. Mazakir, Professor Abdul Qadir Muslim University, Indonesia.
36. Mahdi Ansari, Mr. Mohd. Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh, India.
37. Mohibbul Hasan, Mr. Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh, India.
38. Moqtadari, Mr. M. T. Iranian Embassy, New Delhi, India.
39. Mu'azzam, Mr. Anwar Aligarh, India.
40. Munibur Rahman, Dr. Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh, India.
41. Murtaza, Mr. Hafiz Ghulam Allahabad University, Allahabad, India.
42. Mustafa, Mr. Hafiz Ghulam Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh, India.
43. Nadvi, M. Mujibullah Darul Musannifin, Azamgarh, India.
44. Naficy, Professor Sa'id Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh, India.
45. Nieuwonhurjze, Dr. C. A. O. von Institute of Social Studies, the Hague, Netherland.

46. Nizamuddin, Dr. M. Dā'iratul Ma'ārif al-Osmānia,
Hyderabad, A.P., India.
47. Nurul Hasan, Professor S. Aligarh Muslim University,
Aligarh, India.
48. Nurullah, Mr. Syed Aligarh Muslim University,
Aligarh, India.
49. Qidwai, Mr. Abdus Salam Jamia Millia Islamia, Delhi,
India.
50. Rafiq, Dr. M. Allahabad University, Allahabad,
India.
51. Rafiullah, M. Aligarh Muslim University,
Aligarh, India.
52. Rahman, Sri A. Central Building Research
Institute, Roorkie, India.
53. Rahmatulla Abdullah, H. E. The Embassy of Sudan in India,
New Delhi.
54. Rizvi, Dr. Athar Abbas Civil Secretariat, Lucknow, India.
55. Shafi, Dr. Mohammad Aligarh Muslim University,
Aligarh, India.
56. Sherwani, Mr. R. R. Aligarh Muslim University,
Aligarh, India.
57. Smith, Dr. Myron B. The Library of Congress,
Washington, U. S. A.
58. Smith. (Mrs.) Myron B. Washington, U. S. A.
59. Sulaiman Abbas M. Lucknow, India.
60. Thacker, Professor M. S. New Delhi, India.
61. Tolstov, Professor S. P. The Academy of Sciences of the
USSR, Moscow.
62. Yusuf, Mirza Mohammad Rampur Madrasa, Rampur,
India.
63. Ziadeh, Professor Nicola A. American University of Beirut,
Beirut, Lebanon.



Delegates to the al-Mas'ūdī Millenary Celebrations, Aligarh Muslim University,
January 18-19, 1958.

Nil 13-11-80

Nil 31-7-89

Nil 11-4-97



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Al-masudi : Mill.

